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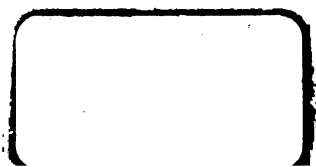
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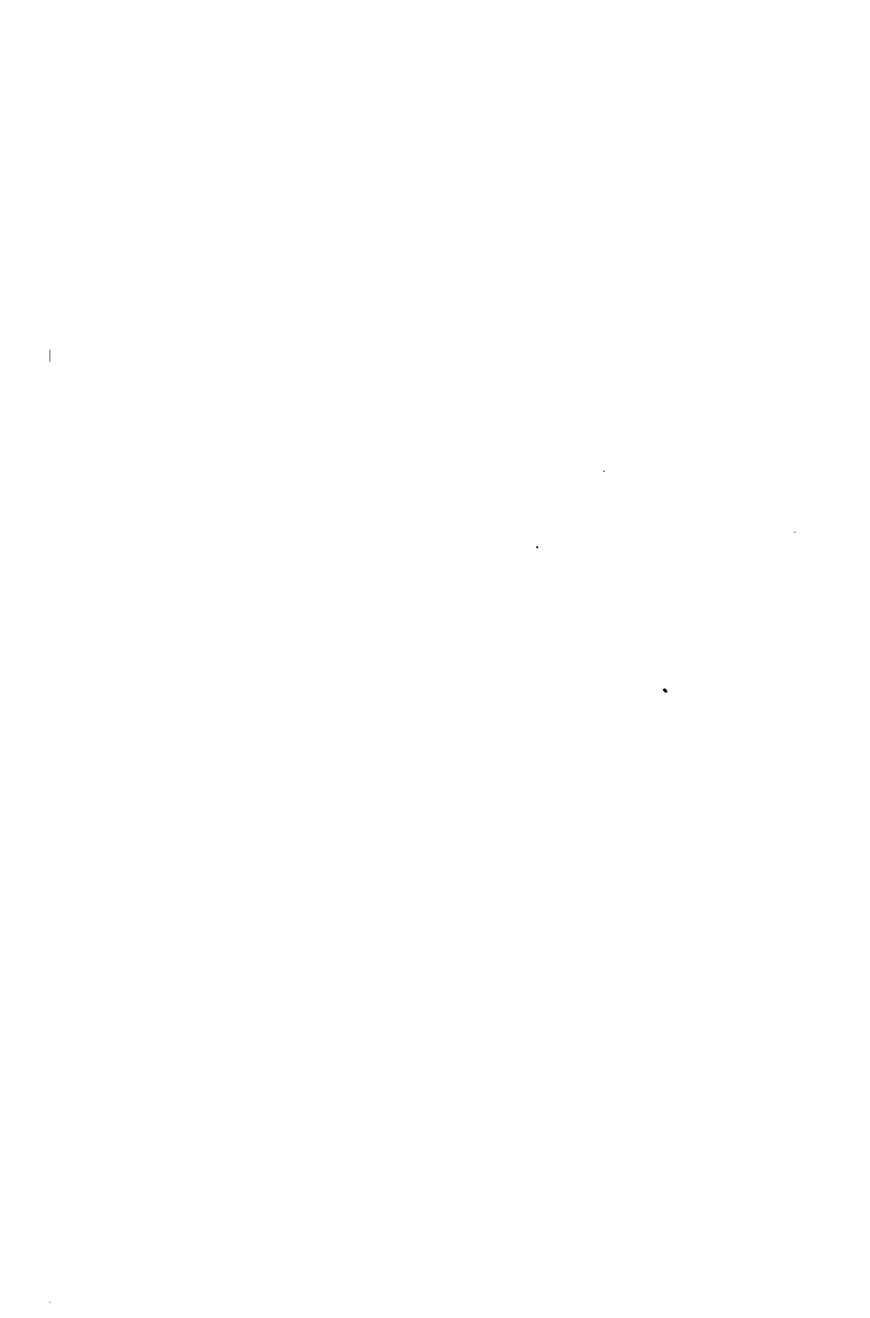
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A RECORD OF THE
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IN
GREAT BRITAIN, HER COLONIES, AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES

1888

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON THE DIFFUSION OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT OVER
THE SURFACE OF THE GLOBE, AND ON THE NATURE AND EXTENT
OF INTERNATIONAL JURISDICTIONS

TO WHICH IS ADDED A REVIEW OF THE CHIEF OCCURRENCES AFFECTING
NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN 1887

B. M.

EDITED BY
LEWIS SERGEANT,
AUTHOR OF "NEW GREECE," "ENGLAND'S POLICY: ITS TRADITIONS AND PROBLEMS," ETC.

NEW YORK
WHITE AND ALLEN
LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN
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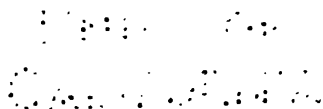
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BERNARD MOSES

TO THE
ALBANY



PREFACE.



THE aim of the "GOVERNMENT YEAR BOOK"—to put it into the fewest and simplest words—is to exhibit the principal forms and methods of government in each particular State, and then, having these facts laid down for ready reference and comparison, to review each year the most striking of contemporary events, and to note how they hinge upon or tend to modify political organizations. Where written Constitutions exist they have been either quoted in their entirety or analysed; and the different Constitutions have been incidentally compared with one another. In the absence of a formal Constitution, greater stress has been laid upon the historical development of national institutions. The sole object throughout has been to furnish a compact and symmetrical account of the methods of government in various quarters of the world.

Apart from constitutional facts, strictly so called, the information contained in the following pages has been compressed within narrow limits. The reader will find in connection with each country a very brief mention of its political position and boundaries, its area and population, and the salient facts of its financial condition. He will not



find many details under these heads, nor will he meet with statistics of agriculture and natural productions, of armies and navies, of trade and manufactures, of imports and exports, of reigning families, of railways, posts, and telegraphs, such as may be found in sundry established books of reference. It will be recognized that "THE GOVERNMENT YEAR BOOK" has an object and a plan distinct from those of any existing work. It is a collection not so much of figures and computations as of constitutional facts and forms. It is true that a subject of this kind could not be worthily treated, at any rate for the purpose of reference, except on a statistical basis; but the statistics employed are such as illustrate the value of prevailing governments, or show the tendency of national and popular developments.

The task of bringing together, in a shape most likely to be serviceable, a large number of facts and statements of one particular complexion is by no means easy. A Year Book has this advantage over volumes which are printed once for all in a definitive form, that it can more frequently and completely avail itself both of the after labours of its editor and of the attentions of its critics. It is hoped that this work may acquire value not only as a precise abstract of information on modes and methods of government, but also as an impartial commentary on the constitutional development of the nations from year to year.

In the general arrangement of the contents a plan has been followed which appears to be on the whole more convenient than a strict adherence to alphabetical order, or than an attempted classification of countries by the character of their government. Great Britain and her dependencies

are placed first, partly because of the space which they occupy, but more on account of considerations which are set forth in the Introduction. The remaining countries of the world are then divided into the two distinct classes of Republics and Monarchies ; and in each class the arrangement is alphabetical. When it seems necessary to draw attention to occurrences of the past twelve months, as bearing on the constitutional or international position of any particular country, this is done in a few paragraphs immediately following the account of the government of that country. In the case of the British Dependencies the arrangement is geographical. Questions of international government, which could not well be treated in connection with separate countries, are briefly handled in the Introduction.

The authorities relied on in the preparation of this work will be found for the most part referred to in the text or notes. Valuable aid has been afforded by gentlemen connected with the Legations in London and with the British Legations abroad, as well as by other competent authorities, on the policy and tendencies of particular countries. To all these the editor desires to express his obligation and thanks.

January, 1888.



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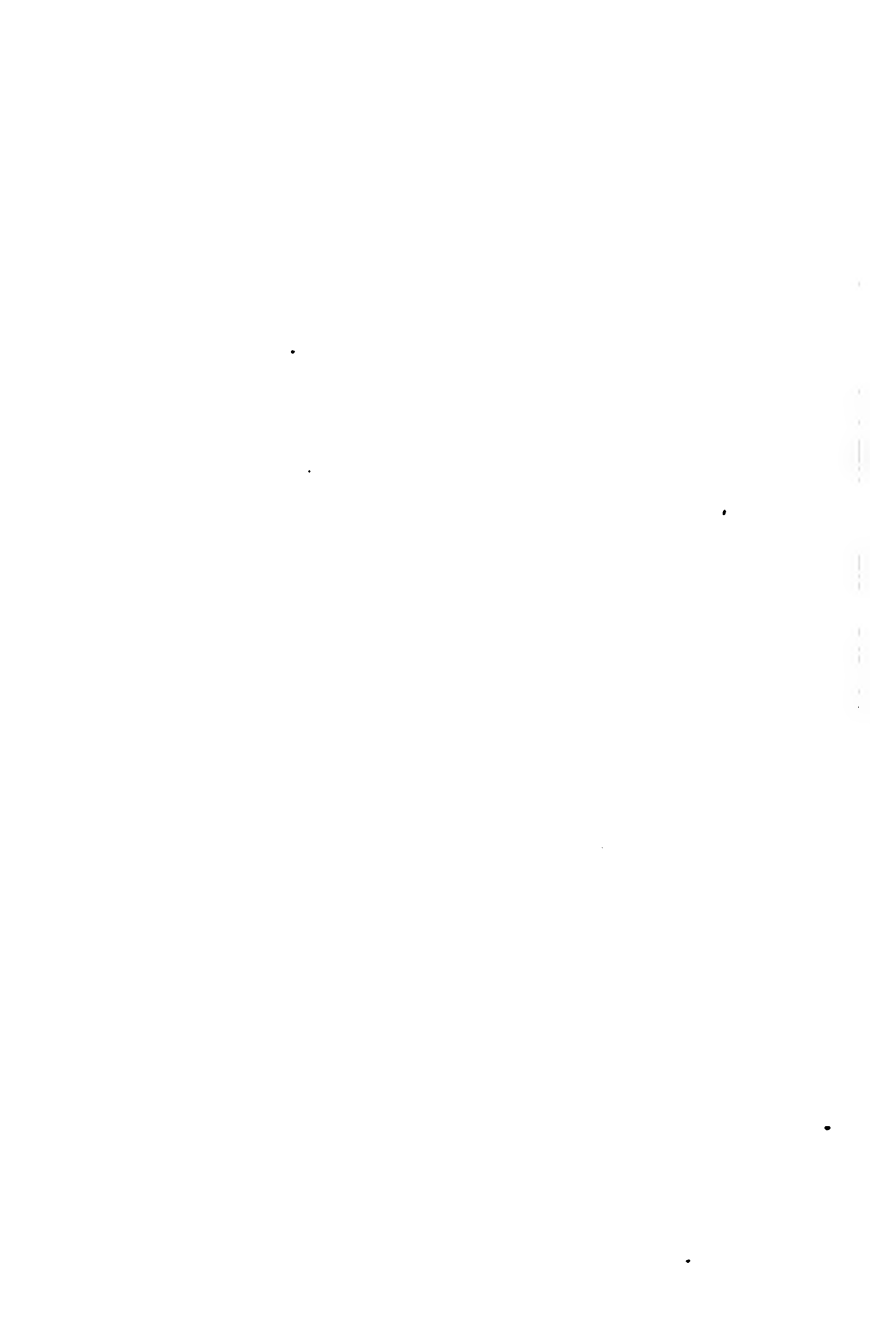
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INTRODUCTION.

I.—THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD.

Few occupations are more interesting than to watch the progress of national governments in the making, and to look on whilst a novel constitution or a decaying despotism is shaken or confirmed by the stress of time. In no age has this occupation been more easy, more engrossing, or indeed more instructive, than in our own. The entire human family has undergone, or is still undergoing, vital changes of government and mutual relationship. Every intelligent person has observed the process, and knows the general tendencies by which it has been directed. Opinions differ as to the goal which may be reached by this or that development, and as to the result of this or that constitutional tendency, but all alike are concerned in the actual evolution of political history.

A British citizen, or a citizen of one of the British colonies, or of an independent State which has framed its constitution on the British model, occupies the best possible standpoint from which to make such a survey as has just been indicated. It is manifest that the strongest political tendency of the time is towards the constant development of popular

government; and it was in Great Britain that the germs of the democratic principle were originally fostered.

"The modern popular government of our day is of purely English origin. . . . The new principle of government was solely established in England, which Hume always classes with Republics rather than with Monarchies. After tremendous civil struggles, the doctrine that governments serve the community was, in spirit if not in words, affirmed in 1689. . . . Popular government, as first known to the English, began to command the interest of the Continent through the admiration with which it inspired a certain set of French thinkers towards the middle of the last century. . . . The principle of modern popular government was affirmed less than two centuries ago, and the practical application of that principle outside these islands and their dependencies is not quite a century old."*

If, then, some of the leading ideas of contemporary government are British in origin and initial tendency, it is right that the constitution of Great Britain should be not merely placed first in order of arrangement amongst the

* Sir H. S. Maine, *Essays on "Popular Government."* The conclusion drawn in the first of these essays is as follows:—"Popular governments of the modern type have not hitherto proved stable as compared with other forms of political rule, and they include certain sources of weakness which do not promise security for them in the near or remote future. My chief conclusion can only be stated negatively. There is not at present sufficient evidence to warrant the common belief that these governments are likely to be of indefinitely long duration." The judgment is quoted in order that it may serve as one of the materials which the present volume seeks to place at the disposal of its readers. But it is not out of place to remark that Sir Henry Maine speaks in high terms of the constitution of the United States, and does not deny that the success of a popularized government in Great Britain during two hundred years is in itself a promise, if not a pledge, of continued success in the future.

various governments of the world, but also treated with special fulness and particularity, with more attention to its historical basis, and with a wider survey of its details. If the British constitution is a standard of measurement to which we may refer, wholly or in part, the constitutions of so many other countries, we need not attempt, in dealing with it, to observe the same scale of proportion which is applied elsewhere.

A glance at the various governments which survive in the world at the present time reveals the important fact that few, if any, of the methods familiar to us in the pages of history are absent from the list. We have still the savage communities which involve rather an obliteration of family relationship than the existence of one large family; we have the somewhat better organized patriarchal forms; we have, again, the nomadic hordes and camp-nations, which at one moment graze their flocks and herds on the fringes of the desert, and at another threaten to overflow the world. In none of these is there any established government to which we need direct our attention; but amongst the organic States also the most ancient forms of human domination are still extant. Passing from the east of Asia to the west of Europe, we advance from theocracy to autocracy, and from autocracy to democracy, in a strangely regulated series, complete with nearly all the intervening links. The newer constitutional ideas, having their origin in the extreme west, have hitherto been unable to pierce the barrier of Russian and Turkish despotism. Baffled there, the effort has begun again at the eastern extremity of the line, and it has not been without success. It is true of Japan, if not yet of China, that western ideas of popular government have commended themselves to a

large section of the nation, and that their effect is already visible in the institutions of the country. The unimpressible mass is the vast region which lies between the China seas and the western frontier of Russia, between the tropics and the northern limits of Asia. All the rest of the civilized world is permeated more or less thoroughly by the principle that the ultimate power of government rests with the people, to whom their rulers are responsible.

The chief independent countries of the world, arranged on the basis of their nominal forms of government, are as follows :—

Republics.

Bolivia	Chili	Costa Rica	Ecuador
France	Guatemala	Hayti	Honduras
Nicaragua	Orange Free State	Paraguay	Peru
Salvador	San Domingo	Transvaal	Uruguay

*Federal Republics.**

Argentine Republic	Colombia	Mexico	Switzerland
United States of America	Venezuela		

Limited Monarchies.

Belgium	Denmark	Greece	Hawaii
Italy	Netherlands	Portugal	Roumania
Servia			

*Federal Monarchies.**

The Kingdom and Empire of Great Britain	
Empire of Austria-Hungary	Empire of Brazil
Empire of Germany	Kingdom of Sweden & Norway

Autocracies.

China	Japan	Madagascar	Morocco
Persia	Russia	Siam	Turkey

* The word "Federal" is used here in a limited sense, to denote States which, whatever their titular designation, include two or more distinct legislative governments, linked together by a constitution.

It is evident that the name alone of any particular government affords an imperfect guarantee of the manner in which that government is administered, and no guarantee at all of the spirit in which it is enforced. Citizens living under monarchical rule may be, and often are, more fortunately placed so far as the exercise of personal liberty is concerned than the citizens of a republic, though republican forms are based on the wider diffusion of liberty amongst all classes of the people. So much, indeed, does the value of any form of government depend upon the spirit of those who administer it, and of those who are subject to it, that one may enjoy more liberal conditions of life under an absolute autocracy—such as China or Madagascar—than, for instance, in sundry unsettled republics in South and Central America.

Theoretically, however, thirty-six out of the forty-four States just enumerated are under various forms of popular government, having representative institutions, and executives based upon contracts between the governing and the governed.

Recent history has shown that the general tendency in States which have secured settled and stable government, in which trade has been developed and international relations have been encouraged, has been towards the establishment of popular rights on a representative basis. The origin of the new constitutions is due to (1) the creation of entirely new States, as in the Canadian and Australian colonies of Great Britain; (2) the revolt and independent organization of colonies, as in the republics of America; (3) the liberation of old States from foreign control, as in the case of Greece—and to some extent in that of Italy; (4) internal revolution, in which the former rulers have

been overthrown, as in France; (5) revolution resulting in a compromise, as in Germany and Austria-Hungary; or (6) the gradual development of free institutions, as in Sweden and Norway.

The distinction between written constitutions, complete in themselves, though requiring addition or amendment from time to time, and developed constitutions, the result of a gradual consolidation of tested principles, is one of very considerable importance. It would, perhaps, be a lost labour to weigh against each other the advantages proper to such a written constitution as that of the United States, which has admirably served its purpose for more than a century, and those of the constitution which has slowly assumed shape and character in the British islands. Each in a different way has been accommodated to the wants of the people by and for whom it was constructed—the first as it were on a level and unoccupied site, the last on ancient foundations, and by the adaptation of old materials to a perfected plan. The success of both is due, not to the adoption of particular terms and provisions which could be applied equally well to any people, under any circumstances, but to the discrimination with which men of prudence and foresight, guided by experience, used appropriate methods to satisfy declared needs. In America the task was to expand and adjust a plan of government which the mother country had bestowed on her first adult offspring. In Britain there had been centuries of slow elaboration, during which charter upon charter, statute upon statute, innumerable precedents of law and custom, blended all that was good and durable in the old with all that was just and mature in the ideas of succeeding generations.

In every country, the constitution which works and endures is the constitution which grows out of, or readily takes root in, the character of the people, which is indicated in advance by the national bent, and in the making of which neither race, nor history, nor geographical position, nor political environment, nor climate, has been left out of consideration or failed to bear its part. The instances are numerous in which adopted constitutions have either languished or failed altogether, through the absence of one or more of these necessary conditions of success. The constitution of France has had an abnormally rapid growth, and cannot yet be said to have thrown off the inherent weakness due to the historical discontinuity in which it had its origin. The constitution of Austria-Hungary has not existed long enough to warrant a firm belief in its durability. It has yet to undergo the severe ordeals which must of necessity arise out of the unstable political environments of the dual empire. The character and bent of the Danish people are clearly ill-accommodated by the constitution of the country as it is now formulated or interpreted. The German people, though they are for the moment agreed to suspend the natural development of their constitutions, cannot without great danger prolong the violent distortion to which their military system subjects them. In America the separated fragments of Simon Bolivar's great conquests from Spain are one and all in the throes of national regeneration; and history has not set the seal of finality on any of the South American constitutions. Liberia is a standing witness to the impossibility of healthy growth in a plant capriciously removed to foreign soil and unsuitable conditions.

Britain, of all the colonizing nations of the world, has

best understood the art of political transplantation. She has her *apoikiai* and her *klerouchiai*; she has learned lessons from Phœnicia and Carthage and Rome. In her dependent States almost every race and language and religion is able to thrive; her administration is at home in every latitude; she knows how to pay tribute and send missions to suzerain courts; her judges enforce the civil codes of France and Holland, and exact obedience to the laws (even to the inhuman customs) of Mahomedans and Hindoos. Yet, for all the skill and subtlety of her statecraft, Great Britain has not invariably succeeded in acclimatizing her own forms of government in the lands which have passed under her rule. In some of the oldest of her colonies, notably in the West Indies, representative institutions have been replaced by what in other settlements has been the transitory expedient of nominated councils. There may, indeed, be two opinions as to the necessity for this retrogressive step, but it is perhaps sufficiently warranted, or accounted for, by the industrial depression of the old slave-worked plantations.

Such are a few of the more evident lessons impressed upon the mind by a rapid survey of the various governments of the world—lessons which it will be convenient to remember when we are considering the constitution of each particular State in greater detail. For whatever we may think of the actual value and ultimate efficacy of popular government in one country or another, it is manifest that all countries are not equally able to turn it to the best account. In Japan a most interesting experiment is about to be tried, and there is no reason why we should be very sceptical as to its success. In Turkey and Egypt abortive attempts were made to acclimatize representative

institutions, concerning which it seemed almost absurd beforehand to anticipate anything but failure. In many other countries the same institutions are distinctly on their trial, and it is impossible to regard the effort with an equal degree of hopefulness in all cases. The tendency in some countries is towards further and more liberal developments ; in other countries there is at any rate a danger of restriction and reaction. It is only by following events from year to year, and by noting the indications of success or failure as they arise, that we can retain an intelligent and comprehensive idea of the general scheme of human organization.

II.—INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

It would not be very satisfactory to set forth a bare account of the various governments of the world, unless we advanced beyond that stage to consider the government of the world as a whole, or at any rate to inquire in what sense the world has progressed towards harmonious government, and on what principles the mutual relations of States are, or are likely to be, conducted. As public law and order have grown up in a nation by the interaction of its citizens upon each other, until the nation could not exist without the observance of such law and order, so do States, which have been called the personalities of the world, produce amongst themselves an international law, and a common basis of order, without which the world would be continually at the mercy of the strongest. There are some who say that there is no exact or necessary international law, and that virtually the world is at the mercy of the strongest. But history teaches us from year to year that there is something stronger than the force of arms—that piratical and predatory nations are

constantly (though not universally) defeated, either by combinations of other States acting in diplomatic concert, or by moral conviction as the result of public opinion, or by the passive force of a spirit of nationality which refuses to be suppressed, or even by the jealousies and conflicting interests of several States, which prevent either of them from doing violence to a people otherwise defenceless.

There is, then, a law—there are at all events certain rights and guarantees, which must be founded upon underlying principles, whether these principles exist in the antecedent nature of things, or whether they are the mere expression of conclusions deduced from experience. It may be serviceable to introduce here, in brief outline, the principles of international law as they are generally accepted. It will of course be understood that wherever these principles are not generated, or justified, by the common assent of the great civilized Powers, they rest for the time on no stronger basis than the authority of the publicists who have enunciated them.

International law is the embodiment of principles which regulate the relations of States amongst themselves.* It will perhaps be equally just to add that it has its origin in experience, which supplies motives for international conduct, based on mutual advantage and self-preservation. The rights of States, which of course precede the law, are elicited and impressed by this experience, until at length it becomes possible to define them in a code. It is no

* The whole subject may be studied in Sir Robert Phillimore's "Commentaries upon International Law"; or in "Das Moderne Völkerrecht der Civilisirten Staten" of Bluntschli; or in the enlarged French version of the same work, edited by M. Lardy. The last volume forms the basis of the following sketch.

objection to this statement to say that there is no tribunal ready for the code, and no executive sufficiently strong to insure its being respected. The principles do not depend upon their observance, nor the rights upon their codification, nor even the code upon its tribunal. If the world is at present without a legislator, at any rate it is awaiting him.

Though the *Jus Gentium* of Grotius was written two hundred and fifty years ago, and though Puffendorf subsequently maintained the necessity and universal applicability of international law, the principles laid down by them and others were never formally recognized by the great European Powers. The Holy Alliance, indeed, took under its patronage certain maxims which it regarded as worthy of acceptance within the limits of Christendom. But the Holy Alliance was a sort of cousinly contract of crowned heads, and has little value as a precedent. Turkey had to wait forty-one years before it was admitted to the concert of European Powers, established in 1815. It is now usually allowed that religion neither involves nor defines the obligation to respect international law. Whilst the Holy Alliance made the limits of its system too narrow in one sense, it pushed them too far in another. Anxious to secure peace after an almost continuous warfare of over half a century, the three emperors considered that the best way of attaining their object would be to defend the Christian sovereigns against their subjects; and hence the interventions in Spain and Italy, which suppressed the popular movements in those countries. The refusal of Great Britain to take part in or sanction the acts of this Alliance was due to the fact that she already discriminated between international right and the public right of particular nations, and saw that international law is properly concerned with the mutual relations of States, but

not (save by rare exception) with the internal affairs of any one State.

The suppression of the slave trade was distinctly a work of international concert, resolving its acts into law. The awakened conscience of Europe found expression at the Congress of Vienna. A generation later, Great Britain invited the Powers to agree to the right of search, which was embodied in the treaty of December 20, 1841. By this treaty, followed by an Anglo-American convention in 1842, the slave trade received its death-blow. The Russian emancipation of 1861, and the American abolition of 1865, put an end to human slavery in civilized countries, and completed one of the greatest victories hitherto achieved by international methods. Right of search, it will be observed, implies interference by one nation with the subjects of another—but only when these subjects have violated the public law of their own country. Another case of intervention, perhaps less strictly unobjectionable in its character, but manifestly justifiable in its results, is that which has been exercised by the European Powers on behalf of the Christian subjects of Turkey. The justification in this case is not so much in the maintenance of religious freedom (though this has been recognized as a legitimate concern of international law) as in the vindication of individual liberties against a Government which persistently refused to listen to the counsels of its more civilized neighbours, and in the mutual protection of these neighbours against dangers having their source in the misgoverned country.

The methods and machinery by which diplomacy now conducts the relations between State and State are not much more than two centuries old, and they apparently had their origin in the turn of Louis XIV. and his minis-

ters for personal intrigue. Embassies to represent one monarch at the court of another became permanent and regular; and they were followed by the appointment of consuls in order to watch the interests of citizens residing in a foreign country. In proportion as the number of aliens increases in all the more important countries, the value and dignity of the consuls have also increased, so that, as Bluntschli says, the consular system promises to become one of the most powerful engines for the peaceful development of international law.

The right of residents in a foreign country, and the rights of the community of nations in regard to the territory of any one of them, are amongst the most significant conquests of international law, since they imply a distinct limitation of the sovereign power of nations, imposed by themselves, for the benefit of humanity in general. They are so strongly guarded by public opinion that any attempt at a retrograde policy—such as the proposal of a section of the French Chamber in 1887 to impose a tax upon foreign residents—is met by reprobation on all hands. The principle that no State can isolate itself without inflicting an injury upon other States, long recognized in Europe, has within the century been impressed upon the most exclusive Oriental Governments—in some cases with scarcely justifiable vigour, but almost invariably with profit to the countries which have in this way been opened up to commerce and civilization. The exclusion of Chinese from the United States, and the prohibitory tax on their entry in some of the British colonies, constitute a violation of this principle which it would require too many words in this place either to justify or to condemn.

It is an extension of the same principle to say that no

State can exercise sovereignty on the open seas, and that inland seas must be open to free navigation. The most conspicuous examples of the assertion of this latter principle are to be found in the opening up of the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea, and in the liberation of the Sound from the toll formerly collected by Denmark—which, as a kind of concession to a small State without enemies, was effected in 1857 by a payment from the Powers of a sum approaching to three and a half millions sterling. The principle of free navigation has been still further advanced, so as to include navigable rivers. The Congress of Vienna claimed freedom for rivers bordering or separating several States; and first the Rhine, then the Scheldt, Meuse, Po, Vistula, and other rivers were freed from toll and prohibition. The Danube was not liberated until 1856.

From navigation it is but an advance of principle to the other channels of intercommunication. Much remains to be achieved in regard to international railway lines, postal and telegraphic services, and possibly an international free press. In the meantime something has been done by the Postal Union, and the various telegraphic treaties and conventions, to prepare the way for a more liberal and harmonious system.

Arbitration and Mediation. A sort of international equity is beginning to grow up on the basis of international law, the essence of which is a recognition of the necessity of moral constraint on the part of nations and Governments, for the common benefit of all nations. We may suppose that the ideal of government will be approached in the world at large when public opinion is sufficiently well informed and powerful to insure the observance of this self-restraint and mutual concession—when not only will

the general advantage be regarded as a proper object for common effort, but the judgment of the community of States will be accepted (within duly defined limits) as a reasonable and necessary substitute for the recourse to arms. In other words, this judgment of the community of States, which has secured to us all that is defined and effectual in international law, will come to be applied as far as possible in anticipation of conflicts between one country and another, and not merely in arranging treaties of peace, or drawing inferences from accomplished facts.

The arrest of conflicts by international common sense and judgment has been far from rare in the past generation, though no one has hitherto devised a system to which the Great Powers could adhere even in principle, or for the purpose of experiment. International Congresses have dealt with the question of Arbitration, and in 1887 an experienced writer on the subject (Professor Leone Levi) formally enunciated a code of procedure, which has commended itself to many minds; but few statesmen have hitherto ventured to advocate, as an immediate policy, the regular and systematic reference of national interests to a settlement of this kind.

An advance in the direction of international arbitration was made at the Congress of Paris in 1856, when the assembled Powers expressed a pious hope that Governments in disagreement, before taking up arms, would have recourse to the good offices of a friendly Power. Up to the present time, nothing of a more definite character has been agreed upon by international concert. There is nothing new or unusual in conventions for arbitration between particular States; but there has been no near approach to a system binding upon the community of

States—binding, that is to say, for the reference of disputes before appealing to arms—even in minor matters, which cannot be said to touch the supreme interests of peoples. In commercial treaties it is now customary to insert an arbitration clause. This has more than once been done in political treaties; but it is not yet a matter of custom and admitted prudence.

The most notable case of arbitration in recent times is that which was arranged between Great Britain and the United States in 1871–2, when the imminent risk of a breach of friendly relations was obviated by referring the Alabama dispute to an international court sitting at Geneva. The award went against this country, and was promptly submitted to; and it has never been seriously contested that the judgment, or at any rate the spirit which accepted the judgment as final, led to the happiest results for both nations concerned. The arrangement between the same two countries in regard to the island of San Juan (1872), in which the Emperor of Germany was selected as arbitrator, may be regarded as a pendant to the earlier and more important case. The example has not borne fruit as rapidly as was hoped, but it is difficult to believe that such a practical exemplification of a method already accepted in theory can fail to serve as a precedent in the future.

There are, of course, regular and perhaps even systematic methods in use amongst civilized Governments, having for their object (1) to prevent the outbreak of war, (2) to localize a war which has broken out, (3) to modify as far as possible the injuries inflicted upon combatants and non-combatants, (4) to seek opportunities for bringing actual wars to a close, and (5) to assist in arranging or confirming the terms of peace.

The process is threefold. It begins with negotiation, with representations made to the Governments of the disputing Powers through the ordinary diplomatic channels, or even with personal counsels, appeals, or remonstrances from sovereign to sovereign or from statesman to statesman. These informal steps may avail to prevent a war, to modify its character, or to hasten its termination. If they are not immediately effectual they may lead to the more formal stage of a mediation—offered by one or more friendly Powers, accepted or even invited by one or both of the disputing Powers. The mediation assumes more or less of the form of arbitration according as the subject-matter of the dispute is more or less substantial and complex. The whole of this procedure is comprehended in the term put on record by the Congress of Paris—"the good offices of friendly Powers."

In regard to three of the five points enumerated above—the localization and modification of war, and the confirmation of the terms of peace—international law has a good deal to say. There are laws of war as well as laws of peace, which the nations hold themselves bound to obey; and thus we have a body of authorized maxims regulating the conduct of armies in the field, any serious infraction of which would result in the intervention of neutral Powers against the offending nation.

Laws of
War.

It is established that in time of war individuals cannot be treated as enemies in their individual capacity. Their persons and their property, their liberty and their honour, are safe, and it is only as citizens of a belligerent State that they can be regarded as hostile. If they take up arms they run the risks of war; but not even a regular soldier may

be slain after he has laid down his arms, or after he is incapacitated by wounds. Non-combatants, including doctors and nurses, chaplains, camp followers of various kinds, are protected by solemn conventions, no less than by feelings of humanity. The Convention of Geneva in 1864, followed by Conferences at Paris, in 1867, and at Berlin in 1869, made special provision for the treatment of the wounded, and for the immunity of non-combatants.

The whole question of the laws and customs of war was discussed at the Brussels Conference of 1874, and the outcome of its labours was witnessed in an *International Declaration*, signed (August 27) by the representatives of the following fourteen Powers, in their (French) alphabetical order :—

Allemagne	Autriche-Hongrie	Belgique	Danemark
Espagne	France	Grande-Bretagne	Grèce
Italie	Pays-Bas	Russie	Suède et
Suisse	Turquie		Norvège.

The principal provisions of the Declaration of 1874 are as follows :—

A hostile army is said to have “occupied” a country when the latter is, as a matter of fact, placed under its authority. The occupier is then bound to maintain the laws, the officials, the taxes, and public service of the country in their normal condition. He may seize the war-like stores of the State, and may use the means of inter-communication, provided that he restores them, and pays for their use on the conclusion of peace. Municipal property, and property devoted to religion, charity, education, science and art, even when under the control of the State, are exempt.

Belligerents are forbidden to use poisoned arms, to put individuals to death when unarmed, or after, surrender, to refuse quarter beforehand, to employ weapons or materials calculated to cause more than necessary destruction, to make unfair use of the national flag, flags of truce, and military ensigns, or of the distinctive emblems of the Geneva Convention, and generally, to destroy or seize the goods of the enemy when this is not imperatively demanded by the necessities of war. Only fortified or defended places can be attacked; and, in case of attack, due care must be taken to spare as much as possible the churches, museums, galleries, hospitals, &c., provided these are not employed for a military purpose. A town taken by assault must not be pillaged by the victors.

Spies are those who clandestinely or by false pretences enter the territory occupied by an enemy in quest of information to be used against the enemy. When caught they may be treated by the enemy in accordance with his own regulations; but if they escape, and are thereafter taken as prisoners of war, they must not be held responsible for their antecedent actions. Military men in uniform, or with despatches, whether moving on land or by balloon, are not to be regarded as spies.

Prisoners of war are in charge of the Government; they may retain all their property except arms, they must be treated humanely, and nothing but insubordination will justify severity. They may be interned, but only as an indispensable measure of security. They may be employed and paid for their work, but not for purposes connected with the war. They must receive treatment corresponding to that of the troops who captured them, and they are subject to the same regulations. They may be released on

parole, in which case their own Government cannot demand their services contrary to the terms of parole. If again captured in the field, they are not entitled to the privileges of prisoners of war. Correspondents, reporters, contractors, and other non-combatants following an army, come under the same rules as ordinary prisoners.

The population of an occupied district cannot be compelled to take part against their own country, or to swear allegiance to the invader. All rights of person and private property must be respected. No contributions can be exacted from the local authorities or inhabitants except what are strictly necessary under the ordinary interpretations of war. In levying such contributions the enemy must follow the regular incidence of taxation in the locality, and a receipt must be given for each payment.

Inviolability is guaranteed for the bearer of proposals from one army to another, for the actual bearer of the flag of truce, and for a trumpeter (one, two, or three persons). The general to whom the proposals are sent is obliged to receive them under all circumstances, unless he has previously notified that he will not do so for a stated time. The inviolability ceases if the messenger abuses his position. Conditions of surrender are of no effect if contrary to military honour; and, once agreed upon, they are strictly binding upon both parties.

If an armistice is not for a fixed period, either belligerent may at any time resume the offensive after notice to the enemy. An armistice may be general or local; its terms and effects must be immediately notified on both sides, and any departure from the terms by either party justifies the other in declaring it at an end. But breaches by individuals do not furnish such justification.

Neutrals harbouring troops from either of the contending armies must intern them as far as possible from the theatre of war—whether in guarded camps or in fortified places. The officers, however, may be put on parole. If the interned troops are supplied with food and clothes, the neutral State must be indemnified on the conclusion of peace. Sick and wounded may be passed through a neutral State; but the latter is required to take all steps necessary to guard against the transit of armed men or war *matériel*. The Geneva Convention is held to apply to the sick and wounded interned in a neutral State.

There has been a steady progress in the adoption of the humaner modern views as to the duties of States in time of war. Thus the Convention of Geneva was originally established between Baden, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the United States, France, Great Britain, Hesse-Darmstadt, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, Saxony, Sweden, Norway, and Würtemberg. Austria adhered to it in 1866, Russia in 1867, the Holy See in 1868, Turkey and Roumania in 1878, Persia in 1874, San Salvador in 1875, Bolivia, Chili, the Argentine Republic, and Peru, in 1879.

As these dates will show, it is sometimes only under stern stress of circumstances that nations can be induced to accept international obligations, distinctly and exclusively framed for the general profit of humanity. The Red Cross, indeed, is now practically recognized by the civilized world. Few nations have withheld their signatures from the Declaration of Brussels. But systematic arbitration, as we have seen, is far from reaching the phase of general acceptance, and there are particular points of international equity which have not yet been accepted even by nations

largely instrumental in establishing the main principles. Thus the immunity of private property at sea, in time of war, though it is contended for by a majority of the Powers on the same grounds which have sufficed to vindicate a like immunity on land, is not sanctioned by international agreement. There has been an advance in this direction, but the end has not been reached. Privateering was condemned by the European Powers at the Congress of Paris in 1856. It was declared at the same time that a neutral flag protected the merchandise of the enemy, with the exception of contraband of war, and, conversely, that the merchandise of neutrals was not liable to seizure, even under an enemy's flag. By the same instrument it was established that no blockade can be recognized unless it is effectual. But the fact remains that maritime commerce in time of war is at the mercy of the enemy's fleet, and that the goods of non-combatants are exposed to seizure or destruction in the same manner as armed vessels and their cargoes.

Prussia, Austria, and Italy entered into an agreement in 1866, renouncing the right to seize merchant vessels. Germany spontaneously resigned it in 1870, but France declined at that crisis to reciprocate. The United States and Italy have a treaty to the same effect. Great Britain has never consented to abrogate the right, contending that to paralyse an enemy's commerce is one of the most expeditious methods of bringing a war to an end. This is clearly a logical argument, and if it is to be overcome it must be by the consideration that in the long run more harm than good is done, even to a victorious nation, by the interruption of general commerce, and the ruin of individual traders.

The essential conditions of treaties, their form and their guarantees, are evidently questions of **Treaties.** primary importance in the government of the world at large. It might indeed be regarded as the fundamental maxim of international law that "the obligation to respect treaties rests upon the conscience of mankind and upon their sense of justice. The due observance of treaties is part of the indispensable foundation of the political and international system of the world. All treaties, therefore, must be of no effect which violate the general rights of humanity, or the necessary principles of international law" (Bluntschli, "Völkerrecht," Art. 410). It is now recognized amongst civilized nations that the individuals who draw up and conclude treaties must fully represent the States for which they act, that treaties, in order to be binding upon constitutional States, must have the assent of the popular representative assemblies, that no treaty can impose an obligation to observe it which introduces, extends, or gives protection to slavery, or denies all rights to foreign residents, or takes away the free navigation of open seas, or initiates persecution for religious opinions, or tends to establish the universal dominion of a single Power, or aims at the forcible suppression of a free and peaceful State. Treaties may be guaranteed by the giving or taking of hostages, by the occupation of territory, whether by consent or as a virtual act of war, or by reference to one or more independent Powers, with the right of intervention.

It will be observed that the primary essential principle of a binding treaty—that is to say, the necessary assent of the popular representative assembly—in a constitutional State is apparently neglected by one of the oldest and strongest of constitutional States. In Great Britain it is held that the

Crown is capable of concluding a treaty binding upon the nation without the previous concurrence of Parliament; and though, as a matter of comparatively recent custom, treaties are submitted for the discussion of the two Houses after their ratification, and Ministries may stand or fall by the result of such discussions, it is not theoretically necessary for the Crown to take Parliament into its counsels—though it may be necessary in order to provide for the execution of a treaty. To foreigners this appears to be a remarkable paradox. It is partially explained by the fact that the prerogative of the Crown is exercised almost absolutely by ministers directly responsible to the representatives of the people; but, on the other hand, there is not much force in the contention sometimes made in the British Parliament by Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries, that the preliminary discussion of the subject-matter of treaties would unduly hamper the negotiations, and would cause other nations to hesitate in coming to terms with the representatives of Great Britain. It is impossible to attach weight to this argument in view of the well-considered conclusions of international law, and of the fact that the constitutions of Germany, France, and several other countries, expressly require the assent of the representative bodies—for the most part previous to ratification, and sometimes even previous to negotiation. The interest and safety of the State are, of course, the main consideration to be borne in mind, and there are exceptional cases when secrecy in the negotiation of a treaty is necessary.

Treaties, when not a mere expression of the Congresses. gain or loss resulting from war, are directed towards maintaining or improving the relations of different countries with each other, suiting old forms to fresh condi-

tions, or assisting in the establishment and development of new States. The ground is prepared for them (1) by diplomacy, which exchanges the ideas of sovereigns, ministers, and representative assemblies, and seeks to arrive at a preliminary understanding on the questions at issue, (2) by conferences of the States more immediately concerned, or (3) by congresses.

A Congress may be regarded as special or general according as the subject to be discussed relates definitely to a case of difficulty which has arisen between one or more nations, or involves the application of general principles over a wider area, and possibly to more cases than one. The Congresses of 1856 and 1878 were in their nature special. The Congress of 1815, wide as it was in its scope and effect, was so far special that it met to deal with a condition of affairs brought about by a single nation. The Congresses of 1818-1822 came nearer to the possession of a general character, since they aimed at the application of certain principles of international government to particular cases arising from time to time. But the great civilized Powers have not yet arrived at the point of resolving beforehand on the periodical assembling of a systematic General Congress, for the purpose of directing the international government of the world. An abortive proposal in this sense was made by Napoleon III. in 1863; and sundry recent writers have drawn up more or less detailed schemes for international congresses, commissions, senates, federal tribunals, and the like. But the time has manifestly not arrived for the formal adoption of any such plan.

Nevertheless, the African Conference of Berlin in 1885 is an instance of the general disposition already existing

amongst the Powers to regulate in concert public affairs which do not too nearly affect their vital interests. The Congress included plenipotentiaries of Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, and Turkey. The declarations provided for freedom of commerce in the basin of the Congo, forbade the sale and transit of slaves, affirmed the neutrality of the same basin, placed the navigable waters of the Congo and the Niger under the regulations of the Congress of Vienna (1815), and the Treaties of Paris (1856), Berlin (1878), and London (1871 and 1883), and engaged any Power which might thereafter occupy a portion of the African coast to notify its intention to the other Powers, and to maintain an authority sufficient to enforce its rights and guarantee the freedom of commerce.

The following is a list of the principal Treaties, Conventions, and International Acts or Agreements, since the Napoleonic Wars :—

1815. Congress of Vienna.

— The Holy Alliance ; designed as a Concert of Christendom, to perpetuate peace and maintain the authority of existing Governments.

1818. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle puts an end to the occupation of France.

1819. Declaration of the rights of neutrals, as adopted by the United States, accepted by Great Britain.

1820. Congress of Troppau and Laybach—Holy Alliance against Naples.

1822. Congress of Verona—Holy Alliance against Spain.

1826. Recognition by Great Britain of the South American Republics.

1829. Convention of London, for the establishment of Greece.
—— Treaty of Adrianople. Black Sea opened for free navigation.
1830. Agreement of the Powers for the separation of Holland and Belgium.
1833. Abolition of Slavery in British Colonies, at a cost of £20,000,000.
1835. Arbitration between Great Britain and France, under the King of Prussia (Portendic claims).
1838. Maine boundary dispute, between Great Britain and the United States, settled by Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster, after unsuccessful arbitration.
1839. Treaty of London, establishing Belgium as a kingdom.
1841. Convention at the instance of Great Britain, establishing right of search.
—— Viceroy of Egypt guaranteed by the Powers.
1842. Anglo-American Convention to check the slave trade.
—— Anglo-Chinese Treaty of Nankin. Hong-Kong ceded; Canton and other ports opened to trade.
1843. Arbitration on pecuniary disputes between the United States and Mexico (under the King of Prussia).
1846. Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, fixing the 49th parallel as boundary, and confirming Vancouver Island to Great Britain.
1848. Congress of Peace Societies at Brussels; 1849 at Paris; 1851 in London.
1849. Cobden moves in the House of Commons for an address in favour of stipulated arbitration.
1850. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, Great Britain and United States. (Neutrality in Central America.)
1852. Treaty of London, providing for the maintenance of Denmark.
1853. Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States (Florida bonds).
—— Arbitration between the United States and Mexico.
1854. Washington Treaty, Great Britain and United States. (Fisheries and Commerce.)
1855. Lord Clarendon proposes arbitration to the United

States as to the right interpretation of the Darien Convention of 1850.

- 1856. Congress of Paris. Turkey admitted to the European Concert. Black Sea and chief rivers thrown open. Declaration of maritime rights, the sanctity of the neutral flag, immunity of private merchandize; privateering condemned. Lord Clarendon proposes the clause advising recourse to the good offices of a friendly Power.
- 1857. The Sound freed from toll, by purchase, by the Powers.
- 1858. Convention between the United States and Japan, opening certain ports.
- Arbitration between the United States and Chili (under the King of the Belgians).
- 1859. Declaration of merchants at Bremen, in favour of the immunity of maritime commerce in war.
- 1859. Arbitration between the United States and Paraguay, New Granada, and Costa Rica.
- 1860. Commercial Treaty, Great Britain and France.
- 1861. Emancipation of the serfs in Russia.
- 1863. Napoleon III. proposed a General Congress—not accepted by the Powers.
- A detailed Code of Instructions drawn up for the United States armies in the field, laying down valuable principles of international law.
- Arbitration between the United States and Peru.
- 1864. Convention of Geneva, initiated by private citizens on behalf of the sick and wounded in war. Red cross adopted.
- Arbitration (Puget Sound) between Great Britain and the United States.
- Arbitration between Ecuador and Colombia.
- 1865. Monetary League between Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, and Switzerland.
- 1865-6. Slaves emancipated in the United States.
- 1866. Austria accedes to the Geneva Convention.
- 1867. Conference at Paris on the treatment of the sick and wounded in time of war; 1869 at Berlin.

1867. Treaty of London. Luxemburg neutralized.
— Russia accedes to the Geneva Convention.
1869. International Telegraphic Conference and Treaty at Berne.
1870. Russia repudiates the clause of the Paris Treaty neutralizing the Black Sea.
1871. Arbitration agreed to between Great Britain and the United States on the Alabama claims. The award was made in June, 1872.
— Arbitration between the United States and Mexico.
— International Telegraph Conference at Rome.
1872. St. Juan Arbitration, between Great Britain and the United States, under the Emperor of Germany.
— Arbitration between Japan and Peru, under the Emperor of Russia.
1873. Turkey and Roumania accede to the Geneva Convention.
1874. Persia accedes to the same.
— Dispute between Switzerland and Italy referred to United States Minister at Rome.
— Dispute between China and Japan referred to British Ambassador at Peking.
— Seistan dispute between Afghanistan and Persia referred to two British generals.
— International Postal Treaty at Berne. Postal Union established.
— International Conference and Declaration of Brussels on the Laws and Customs of War.
1875. Arbitration between Great Britain and Portugal (Delagoa Bay), under Marshal MacMahon.
— International Telegraph Conference at St. Petersburg.
— International Postal and Metric Conference at Paris.
1878. Congress of Berlin, summoned by Germany to revise the Treaty of San Stefano between Russia and Turkey.
1879. Telegraphic Convention in London.
— Accession of Bolivia, Chili, Peru, and the Argentine Republic to the Geneva Convention.

- 1880-1. Concert of the Powers to secure rectification of the frontiers of Montenegro and Greece.
1883. Convention at Paris on the protection of industrial property.
1884. Convention between Great Britain and the South African Republic (under British influence).
1885. International Telegraph Conference at Berlin.
- African Conference at Berlin. The new Congo State sanctioned.
1886. Commercial Convention between Great Britain and Spain.
- Conference at Tokio for the revision of the Treaties. New provisions in regard to foreign residents.
- Combination of the European Powers for the coercion of Greece.
1887. First British Colonial Conference in London.
- Convention between Great Britain and Turkey, in respect of Egypt. Abortive through lack of agreement amongst the European Powers.
- Convention between Great Britain and China, in respect of Burmah and Thibet. Conventions between China and France, China and the United States.
- Conference at St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia, fixing the limits of the Russian advance in Asia.
- Joint Commission at Washington to arrange the fishery disputes between the United States, Great Britain, and Canada.
- Convention signed at the Hague, between Great Britain, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark, prohibiting sale of spirits to fishermen at sea.
- — — International Copyright Convention between Great Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Hayti, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Tunis.
- Sugar Bounty Conference in London.

GREAT BRITAIN.

GREAT BRITAIN proper, with Ireland and the neighbouring groups of islands (capital London) is in some but not all senses a European country —the nearest point of the Continent being at a distance of twenty-one miles. Though not conterminous with any other country, it has been in parts specially affected (the more so on account of its maritime and commercial enterprise) by the nations facing its several coasts. Thus between Scotland and Norway, between the eastern counties and the shores of the Baltic, between the south coast and France and the Netherlands, between Ireland and the United States, there have been reactions of various kinds in earlier or later times, by the interchange of races, products and commodities, manners and customs, and political sympathies.

Political
Facts.

On the other hand, by its Colonies and Dependencies (over forty in number) Great Britain is conterminous with many other countries, and in this way it reaps the advantages and disadvantages, the profits and the dangers, which naturally accrue to conterminous States. It is the close neighbour of France in regard to the Channel Isles, India, Newfoundland, and Australasia; of Germany in South Africa and New Guinea; of Russia in Central Asia; of Spain in

Gibraltar and Australasia; of Italy in Malta; of Holland in New Guinea, the Straits Settlements, Guiana, the West Indies, and British India; of Denmark in Heligoland and the West Indies; of Turkey in Cyprus, Aden, and virtually in Egypt; of Portugal in South Africa; of the United States in Canada; of China in Burmah and Hong Kong; and of minor independent States in different parts of the world. No year passes in which Great Britain does not find embarrassment, or a strain upon her resources, side by side with many valuable gains, from this indirect contiguity with other nations.

The following table shows approximately the *Area*, *Population*, *Revenue* and *Trade* of the three sections of the empire.

	British Isles.	Colonies, &c.	India.	Total.
Area in sq. miles..	121,000	7,000,000	1,380,000	8,501,000
Population	37,000,000	17,000,000	254,000,000	308,000,000
Revenue	£92,000,000	£51,000,000	£71,000,000	£214,000,000
Imports & Exports	£650,000,000	£500,000,000	£180,000,000	£1,330,000,000
Shipping, in tons..	60,000,000	40,000,000	7,500,000	107,500,000

By comparison with other nations, the empire of Great Britain is first in point of *Area*, Russia being second.

In *Population* Great Britain stands second amongst the nations, China coming first.

In *Colonial Possessions*, Great Britain far exceeds all other countries put together.

The British *Navy* (about 375,000 tons) is more than one-fifth greater than that of France, which stands second.

The British *Army* (about 360,000 men, including the Indian forces) is exceeded by those of Russia, Germany, France, and Italy.

The *National Debt* of Great Britain (about £740,000,000) is exceeded only by those of France and Russia.

Within the present century Great Britain has had wars with France (1801-15), Russia (1854-6), Wars. Turkey (1807-27), the United States (1812-14), China (1839-42, '56-60), Afghanistan (1838-42, '78-80), Baluchistan (1839-40), Burmah (1824-6, '51-3, '87), Japan (1863), Egypt (Ibrahim, 1840; '82), the Soudanese (1884-5), Abyssinia (1867-8), Ashantee (1824-6, '73-4), Zululand (1878-9), the Transvaal (1880-1), India (Mahratta, 1803-5; Holkar, '34-5; Nepaul, '14-15; Scinde, '43; Sikh, '45-9; Mutiny, '75-9; Bhootan, '64-5), Persia 1856-7.

CONSTITUTION.

The existing system of Government in Great Britain is more anomalous, and in form more inconsistent, than any system of which history makes mention. It is highly complex, yet in its essentials it is remarkably simple. In as much as the ultimate chief authority resides in a free popular vote, it is *democratic*. In as much as the constitution has been shaped by a series of successful struggles (1) by the Lords against the Crown, (2) by the Commons against the Crown and the Lords, and (3) by the masses of the people against one or all of the three Estates, it is *republican* and *revolutionary*. In as much as the monarch retains a distinct prerogative, and a formal supremacy in the promulgation of law and the exercise of executive power, it is *monarchical*. And in as much as self-governing States in various parts of the British dominions are subject to the authority of the Crown, and receive their presiding rulers on the nomination of the Crown, it is *imperial*.

There is manifestly an element of danger in this complexity, for the work of government cannot proceed smoothly when it is disturbed by so many varying tendencies, and when it is expected to satisfy diverging and often conflicting needs. By studying the growth of the British constitution we are enabled not only to see how the complexity of form has come about but also to judge as to the value of the guarantees under which the existing liberties of the people are enjoyed.

Before the Norman-French invasion, the kings of England were elected by the Witenagemot, which usually made its selection from the family of the preceding monarch. The early Norman kings were chosen or confirmed by the barons, with or without the sanction of the clergy and people. The Plantagenets were the first to rely solely on hereditary title; but from Henry IV. onward the right to the crown was held to depend upon the authority of Parliament—hereditary succession at the same time becoming a statutory principle.

The royal prerogative is less the result of settlement than of assumption; the Norman kings assumed every power and privilege, whilst the Charters wrested from them imposed successive checks and restrictions. The Charter of Henry I., followed by the Great Charter, with its many confirmations, brought the prerogative within bounds—recognizing the king as feudal chief, insisting on the summons of Common Councils of the realm for most extra-feudal purposes, and claiming judgment by equals, with other defined rights and privileges, *for every person in the kingdom*. Further limitations of prerogative and declarations of popular rights were made (in particular) by the Provisions of Oxford (1258), the Provisions of Westminster

(1264), the Confirmation of Charters (1297), the Petition of Right (1628), the Bill of Rights (1689), the Act of Settlement (1701).

The history of the Constitution shows that the permanent intention of the people has been to maintain its power of disposing of the crown, to attach to it certain duties as conditions of the prerogative, and to require the exercise of all regal functions through responsible advisers and ministers. The loyalty of the present monarch to these principles has added to the stability of the throne, which, in the reigns of her immediate predecessors, was notoriously undermined amongst all classes of the nation.

The legal title of the monarch is as follows :—

“ Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India.”

**Royal
Title.**

King John first took the title of “ Dominus Hiberniæ.” Henry VIII. was “ Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fide Defensor.” James I. was “ King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.” “ Great Britain ” was adopted in the royal style of James I., on the union of England and Scotland in 1604. The term “ United Kingdom ” was regularly employed from 1707. “ Empress of India ” was added by Act of Parliament (and proclamation in India) in 1876-7. In 1887, at the meeting of the Colonial Conference in London, a suggestion was made to add to the title a mention of the Colonies and Dependencies, but the Colonial Governments, being consulted, did not see fit to recommend the change.

The public income of the monarch is £60,000 (Privy Purse), and £325,000 for the royal household, together with the net revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster, amount-

ing to about £45,000. The income of the Heir Apparent is £40,000, with the net revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, over £60,000. The other annuities to members of the royal family amount to £118,000.

Charters. Some of the chief provisions of the early charters are as follows :—

Charters of Henry I.—The Church to be free from royal control. Feudal reliefs to be fixed and regular. Freedom of bequest ; property in absence of a will to descend to wife, children, relatives, or “lawful men.” Laws of Edward the Confessor confirmed in several respects. No land-tax to be imposed additional to knight-service.

Charters of Stephen (1135–6).—Confirmation of the last. Forests made by William I. and William II. restored.

Constitutions of Clarendon (1164).—Qualifications of the immunity of the Church, in respect of disputed presentations, clergy accused of crime, appeals to the king, &c. Jury of twelve to be empanelled by the sheriff for the trial of powerful laymen, or of disputes between clergymen and laymen. The king to have revenues of vacant sees. King’s Court to exercise jurisdiction over cases involving debt.

Assize of Clarendon (1166).—Questions of public order, juries, justices in eyre, acceleration of trials.

Several other assizes in the same reign of Henry II. were very serviceable in regulating legal procedure.

Magna Charta (1215).—Confirmed charters of Henry I. and Stephen. Also confirmed the ancient liberties of London and other towns. Limitation of aids to the king—and to the barons from their subordinates. Common pleas not to follow the king’s court. Fines to be proportionate to the offence, and assessed by neighbours—not to touch tenements, merchandize, or tools. No one to be

brought to trial without witnesses. No freeman to be seized except by law and judgment of equals. Justice not to be sold, denied, or delayed. Freedom to enter or quit the realm. John's forests restored. Restitution to those unjustly dispossessed. Unjust fines to be remitted. Concession of justice to the Welsh and Scotch. Every inhabitant of the kingdom to enjoy the liberties and rights claimed in this charter.

Provisions of Oxford (1258).—Church to be reformed by the Ordinary Council, as they should see time and place. Justiciar, Treasurer, and Chancellor to be appointed annually, and to render account to the king and his council. Increased pay to the judges. Three meetings of the Common Council, or Parliament, every year. Confirmation of Magna Charta.

Provisions of Westminster (1259–67).—Limitations of service, distrain, and other feudal claims which had been abused. No distrain on freehold without king's writ. One article foreshadows the statute of mortmain.

In the *Dictum de Kenilworth* (1266), which is mainly an act of conciliation and amnesty, there is a curious demand for the reform of the government of London.

In the first *Statute of Westminster* (1275) there are provisions for the freedom of elections; in the second (1285), it is ordained that justices of assize shall pass through each county twice or three times in the year. The third (1290) enables a freeman to sell his interest in his fee, the buyer to accept the responsibility to the feudal chief.

Confirmation of Charters (1297).—Any judgment contrary to Magna Charta is declared void. Exceptional aids and fines henceforth to be for the common benefit.

Petition of Right (1628).—Former provisions regarding

aids construed as forbidding forced loans, benevolences, and imposts without consent of Parliament. Other charters and statutes referred to and insisted on. Protests against refusal of writs of *habeas corpus*, of arbitrary imprisonment, of billeting, of martial law, &c.

The *Habeas Corpus Act* (1679) confirms and extends the right already existing in common law, and greatly restricts the power of imprisonment.

The *Bill of Rights* (1689) embodying the *Declaration of Rights and Claim of Right* previously assented to by William and Mary. It declares illegal the suspending and dispensing powers, the levying of imposts "by pretence of prerogative," the checking of petitions, the maintenance of a standing army without consent of Parliament, interference with the election of members and freedom of speech in Parliament, excessive bail, fines and punishments, dispensing with juries, &c. Parliament to meet frequently "for the redress of grievances and the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws," and for "the settlement of the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom." It defines these various rights as "the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this realm," and records the acceptance of the crown by William and Mary on these (and other) conditions.

The *Act of Settlement* (1700) confirms the *Bill of Rights*; settles the crown on the Electress Sophia and her heirs, and affirms that if a Papist succeeds to the crown, or if the monarch becomes a Papist, the people shall be absolved from their allegiance. Consent of Parliament required for wars in defence of territories not British. The sovereign may not quit the realm without consent of Parliament. No alien, even if naturalized, to become Privy Councillor

or Member of Parliament, or to hold any civil or military post. Placemen and pensioners disqualified from sitting in Parliament. Judges to hold office on good behaviour. The Crown is declared incapable of pardoning persons impeached by the Commons.

These are the chief rights secured by charter and royal undertakings. The knowledge of them, and of the gradual application of the royal authority and prerogative to popular uses (which will be explained further on) is necessary to a proper understanding of the bases on which the British Constitution rests. That constitution is an edifice which has been steadily building for a thousand years, and it exhibits every style of political architecture.

In the reigns of the Norman kings, if not before, there was an ordinary and permanent Council, outside the Common Council provided for by the charters, which was attached to the person of the monarch. Amongst the principal members were the Justiciar, Treasurer, Chancellor, Marshal, Steward, and Chamberlain. This Council, occasionally styled Curia Regis, may be regarded as the historical origin of the Privy Council (especially of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council) and of the courts of law. Its power was naturally greatest during royal minorities, or under a weak king. Its function was "to counsel and assist the king in the execution of every power of the Crown which was not exercised through the machinery of the common law" (*Stubbs*). The Common Council, or Parliament, continually attempted to assert the right of nominating the King's Council, and to limit its authority: but the resistance of the monarchs left to the representative body scarcely any check beyond the power of impeachment. The term "Privy Council"

Councils
attached
to the
Crown.

came into use under Henry VI., and was regularly adopted from the year 1660. Privy Councillors (who only attend when specially summoned) retain their rank for six months after the death of the monarch under whom they were sworn.

The powers of the Privy Council were greatly restricted in 1641, but it retained various judicial functions. By an Act of Parliament in 1888 the Judicial Committee exercises appellate jurisdiction over the courts in the Colonies, in admiralty, divorce, and ecclesiastical causes; and by an Act in 1873 it was merged in the Supreme Court of Judicature. In addition to other executive powers, which may be dealt with later on, the Privy Council issues Orders in reference to colonial administration, ratifications of treaties, royal proclamations, patents and charters of incorporation, writs for the summons, prorogation, and dissolution of Parliament, and letters patent.

The Cabinet, originally selected from the Privy Council, was first formed by Charles II.; and from 1679 the administration of the Government has been in the hands of successive Cabinets. Though one party of politicians (that of the Whigs) received the confidence of William III., the alternation of party Cabinets was not recognized as a principle of the constitution before the reign of George II. It is now established that Cabinet Ministers are virtually indicated to the sovereign (through the Prime Minister) by the popular vote, that they become members of the Privy Council as a matter of course, that in their collective capacity they are responsible to Parliament and the nation for the advice which they give to the sovereign, as well as for their general conduct of affairs; that their tenure of office depends on the approval of a majority of the House

of Commons ; that the proceedings of their Councils (which are not attended by the monarch) are secret and confidential ; that their opinions are " weighed, not counted ; " that after their deliberation the result is communicated to the sovereign as a collective opinion.

The term " Parliament " is about as old as the institution itself in its specially representative **Parliament.** form ; both date from the 13th century. Shires first sent their spokesmen to the Common Council in the reign of John (1213) ; boroughs in the reign of Henry III. (1265). The so-called " Model Parliament " of 1295 was constituted (by summons) of the earls, barons, bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, one representative from each cathedral chapter, two parochial clergy from each diocese, two knights from each shire, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough. The clergy, who had sat separately, soon afterwards withdrew, and the Houses of Lords and Commons divided the authority of Parliament between them.

The main functions of the royal prerogative at this day are those of summoning new Parliaments, opening and closing their sessions (personally or by commission) with a speech, adjourning and dissolving the House of Commons, and assenting to Bills passed by both Houses. But all these things, as well as the selection of Premiers and other Cabinet Ministers, are done on the advice of the responsible Ministers for the time being, who even frame the royal speeches. No monarch since Charles I. has ruled without a Parliament. None since Anne has refused assent to a Bill. The duration of Parliaments was determined by the Triennial Acts of 1641 and 1694, and by the Septennial Act of 1716—from which time the House of Commons

has frequently refused to shorten the term of its natural existence.

The following list of the principal Ministers in successive Administrations during two centuries exhibits the changes of party government since the Revolution, and illustrates the course of Parliamentary history for the same period :—

WILLIAM AND MARY.

- 1689. *Tory and Whig.* Danby, Shrewsbury, Halifax, Sunderland, Devonshire, Godolphin.
- 1690. *Tory.* Danby, Godolphin, Sydney, Pembroke, Nottingham.
- 1695. "*Junto*" *Whigs.* Russell, Sunderland, Somers, Montagu (Halifax).
- 1701. *Tory.* Godolphin, Pembroke, Nottingham.

ANNE.

- 1704. T. Harley, St. John.
- 1705. *Coalition.* Harley, St. John, Cowper, Sunderland.
- 1708. W. Somers, Cowper, Sunderland, Wharton.
- 1710. T. Harley (Oxford), St. John (Bolingbroke).

GEORGE I.

- 1714. W. Townshend, Halifax, Cowper, Stanhope, Walpole.
- 1717. W. James Stanhope, Sunderland (Townshend and Walpole in Opposition).
- 1720. W. Walpole, Townshend, Macclesfield, Chesterfield.
The longest Ministry—later members, Hardwicke, Devonshire, Newcastle, H. Pelham.

GEORGE II.

- 1742. "*Patriot*" *Whigs.* Wilmington, Pulteney.
- 1748. "*Broad-bottom*" *Whigs.* Pelham, Newcastle, Carteret, Hardwicke.
- 1754. W. Newcastle.
- 1756. W. Devonshire, the elder Pitt,
- 1757. W. Newcastle, Pitt.

GEORGE III.

1762. "*King's Friends*." Bute, Henley.
 1763. "*King's Friends*"—mainly Whigs. Grenville, Bedford, Sandwich.
 1765. W. Rockingham.
 1766. W. Pitt (Chatham), Grafton, Grenville, Bedford.
 1767. "*King's Friends*." Grafton, North.
 1770. "*King's Friends*"—mainly Tories. North.
 1782. W. Rockingham, Fox.
 — Chatham Whigs. Shelburne, the younger Pitt.
 1788. Tory-Whig Coalition. Portland, North, Fox, Burke.
 — Whig developing into Tory. Pitt, Portland, Grenville, Dundas, Castlereagh.
 1801. T. Addington, Portland, Hawkesbury, Castlereagh.
 1804. T. Pitt, Hawkesbury, Harrowby, Castlereagh, Eldon.
 1806. ("*All the Talents*." Coalition of Tories and Whigs.) Grenville, Sidmouth, Fox, Spencer.
 1807. T. Portland, Canning, Perceval, Eldon.
 1810. T. Perceval, Wellesley, Eldon, Dundas.
 1812. T. Liverpool, Sidmouth, Peel, Castlereagh, Canning, Eldon.

GEORGE IV.

1827. T. Canning, Lansdowne, Lyndhurst.
 — T. Goderich, Lansdowne, Herries.
 1828. T. Wellington, Peel, Aberdeen, Ellenborough.

WILLIAM IV.

1830. W. Grey, Melbourne, Russell, Althorp, Brougham, Palmerston.
 1834. W. Melbourne, Brougham, Althorp, Palmerston.
 — T. Peel, Wellington, Ellenborough, Lyndhurst.
 1835. W. Melbourne, Russell, Palmerston.

VICTORIA.

1841. *Conservative*. Peel, Aberdeen, Lyndhurst, Graham, Gladstone.
 1846. *Liberal*. Russell, Palmerston, Granville, Grey, Wood.
 1852. C. Derby, Disraeli,

1852. *Whig-Peelite*. Aberdeen, Palmerston, Russell, Gladstone, Clarendon.
1855. L. Palmerston, Russell, Gladstone, Clarendon.
1858. C. Derby, Disraeli, Malmesbury.
1859. L. Palmerston, Gladstone, Russell, Lewis, Grey.
1865. L. Russell, Gladstone, Clarendon.
1866. C. Derby, Disraeli, Carnarvon, Cranborne.
1868. C. Disraeli, Cairns, Stanley, Northcote.
- L. Gladstone, Lowe, Hartington, Granville, Argyll.
1874. C. Beaconsfield, Northcote, Cairns, Derby, Salisbury.
1880. L. Gladstone, Harcourt, Childers, Forster, Hartington, Granville.
1885. C. Salisbury, Beach, Cross, Churchill, Iddesleigh.
1886. L. Gladstone, Harcourt, Morley, Granville, Rosebery.
- C. Salisbury, Beach, Iddesleigh, Churchill, Smith, Goschen, Balfour.

The main authority of Parliament resides in the House of Commons, and rests ultimately upon the power of refusing supplies. These are now voted from year to year—sometimes even from month to month; and it is to be observed that the House not only votes the total amount, but has assumed (from 1688) a complete freedom of appropriation. Apart from this restrictive power of the popular representatives, the royal prerogative is limited in the sense that writs for a new Parliament must be issued immediately after a dissolution, and that adjournments are not made for periods of more than two or three months. Moreover, since the reign of William III. (1689), the dependence of the State upon the regular meeting of Parliament is further secured by the passing of the Mutiny Act year by year. The Bill of Rights declares that “the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in the time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law”; and Parliament has contrived ever since, by

granting this consent for one year only, to make its annual meeting indispensable. For it has been well said that, if this Act were not renewed, the army would cease to exist at the end of the year for which its maintenance was last authorized. "There would be no legal authority to raise recruits, nor any legal means of punishing the soldiers of the existing force if they chose to desert and return to their own homes; since the military discipline to which they are amenable is itself the creation of the Mutiny Act, and unknown to and unenforceable by the common law" (Traill, "Central Government").

It follows from what has been said that the supremacy of Parliament is based partly on charters wrested from the Norman, Plantagenet, and Stuart kings, partly on the contracts made with William III. and his successors, and partly on the Acts and resolutions of the Houses themselves, which for nearly two centuries have received the royal assent as a matter of course. For a long time Parliament and the monarch exercised a dual authority in matters of the same kind, and their actions were frequently in conflict. During and after the Wars of the Roses there was no combined effort of the people to resist the encroachments of the Crown; but in the seventeenth century a natural accumulation of popular energy on the one part and of arbitrary authority on the other made a conflict between the two inevitable. *Ordinances* of the Privy Council had, and still have a power equivalent, and in some respects superior, to that of statutes; but they are now employed only by the Government of the day, subject to its responsibility to Parliament—and this only for departmental purposes. Royal *Warrants* may still be employed in the same way—instances having occurred

within the last half-century; but the weapon is one which would be ineffective if turned against the public welfare. *General Warrants* against the person finally lost their force by a declaration of the House of Commons in 1766. The same year gave the death-blow to the lingering abuse of royal *Proclamations*, which had been declared by an Act of 1539 to have "the force of statutes under penalty of fine and imprisonment." The power of *suspending* the operation of statutes, and of *dispensing* with their effects in the case of individuals, has entirely disappeared—except that the royal prerogative of *remission* and *free pardon* may still be exercised on the responsibility of the Home Secretary.

The independence and authority of the House of Commons are directly jeopardized by the bribery or corruption of its members, or of the electors who send them to Parliament. The bribery of members has wholly ceased, so far as political custom or public tolerance is concerned. In 1708 an Act was passed which compelled members accepting an office of emolument to seek re-election, and an Act confirming and extending this regulation was passed in 1782. A great majority of the persons holding a position under Government were disqualified under an Act of 1742; and the disqualification was afterwards extended to persons holding a contract from Government. The House has further reformed and protected itself within the present century by the Reform Act of 1832, the Corrupt Practices Act of 1854, the Reform Act of 1867, the Ballot Act of 1872, the Corrupt Practices Act of 1883, and the Representation and Redistribution Acts of 1884-5. By these measures rotten boroughs have been abolished, constituencies have been made approximately equal, the franchise has been lowered, and many provisions have been made

to secure a free exercise of the suffrage to the largest number of citizens. The tendency of them all has been to confirm the supremacy of Parliament—always provided that successive Houses of Commons are scrupulous to observe the true drift of public opinion, and loyal in giving effect to it.

Party, as we now understand the term, had its origin under the Stuarts, and party government was reduced to a system by slow and unequal degrees during the eighteenth century. It had not been perfected as a machine of statecraft when the personal influence of George III. did much to obliterate the growing distinction between Whigs and Tories. This cause, with the rally round Pitt and Liverpool consequent upon the Revolutionary Wars, threw the government of the country for more than forty years into the hands of a single party, which was not so much Tory as a combination of "king's friends," "patriots," and representatives of a prevailing public opinion, produced by the exceptional circumstances of the time. It was not until the subsequent reaction had made itself felt, and the logical demand for reform (preferred by both the Pitts before the Revolution) had revived with increased strength, that the modern parties of Liberals and Conservatives emerged and faced each other.

The alternation of power between these two parties is regulated entirely by test votes in the House of Commons. Though the influence of party is very clearly felt in the Upper House, yet the Lords have certain natural and necessary tendencies which seem to render it impossible in the public interest that they should hold the balance of power. The fact that the authority of the Commons is obtained directly from the majority of the nation has enabled the Lower House to assert a practical

supremacy in matters of government over the Lords. They initiate all money and appropriation Bills; and they have at their command an irresistible argument in the power of creating a sufficient number of new peers to swamp an obstinately hostile majority. As the Ministry of the day depends upon a majority in the Commons, it follows (especially when this majority is Liberal) that the Prime Minister is able, in the last resort, to overbear the opposition of the Upper House by threatening to set in motion the creative power of the Crown. It has rarely been necessary to pass beyond the threat, though this was done by the Tories in 1711, and by the Whigs in 1832. At the beginning of the last century a Bill passed the Upper House providing that the Crown should not increase the existing number of peerages by more than six; but it was thrown out by the House of Commons.

The House of Lords now comprises 6 princes of the blood, 21 dukes, 20 marquises, 120 earls, 29 viscounts, and about 290 barons—all these being peers of the United Kingdom—16 representative Scottish peers (elected to each Parliament), 28 representative Irish peers (elected for life), the archbishops of Canterbury and York, together with the 24 English or Welsh bishops of longest standing (save that the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Durham always have seats in the House). There are also three Lords of Appeal, who hold non-hereditary peerages.

The House of Commons now comprises 670 members, who are thus apportioned :—

465 English	...	...	County	...	...	234
			Metropolitan	...	...	61
			Borough	...	...	165
			University	...	...	5

80 Welsh	...	...	{ County	...	...	...	19
			{ Borough	...	...	...	11
72 Scottish	...	...	{ County	...	...	...	39
			{ Borough	...	...	...	81
			{ University	...	...	...	2
103 Irish...	...	...	{ County	...	...	...	85
			{ Borough	...	...	...	16
			{ University	...	...	...	2

There is no necessary qualification for members, except that they shall be male subjects who have attained their majority; but clergymen, judges, placemen as already mentioned, insane persons, felons, and bankrupts, are disqualified. So also are English and Scottish peers.

The qualification for Parliamentary electors is that they shall be male subjects who have attained their majority, and who have been placed upon the register under certain statutory conditions. The actual number of voters in the United Kingdom approaches six millions, of whom about five-eighths are in the counties. The proportion of voters is approximately one in six of the population.

The chief existing Parliamentary franchises are as follows :— Franchises.

Owners or tenants of any land or tenement within a borough constituency are entitled to be placed on the register of voters for the borough if the yearly value of the land or tenement is not less than £10—if they have resided in or within seven miles of the borough during six months preceding the 15th of July in the year of registration—if they have occupied the land or tenement during twelve months preceding the same date—if poor rates and assessed taxes for the same have been paid for twelve months on or before the 20th of July.

Resident householders are entitled to a vote on much the same conditions—the qualification hinging on the payment of rates, not on the value of the house.

Lodgers are entitled when they have resided twelve months in the same house preceding the 15th of July, the lodgings being of the value of not less than £10 a year (under 4s. a week) unfurnished.

By the Franchise Act of 1884 these three borough qualifications were extended to counties. Certain older county franchises, such as those which are based on the possession of freehold property of the annual value of forty shillings, and life estates of £5 yearly, remain in existence.

No Parliamentary franchise can be exercised by females, aliens, peers, persons who have received parochial relief within the qualifying year, infants, felons, and persons found guilty of corrupt practices who have not purged their offence, idiots, police magistrates, returning officers, election agents, and others who have received payment for services to a candidate.

**Corrupt
Practices.**

The highest authority known to the British constitution is the judgment of the constituencies at a general election. The law has therefore hedged in the purity of Parliamentary elections by sundry strict provisions. There are five classes of misdemeanours which are defined as “corrupt practices”—bribery, treating, undue influence (such as force, restraint, temporal or spiritual injury, or the threat thereof, direct or indirect, to prevent the free exercise of the franchise), personation, and false declaration of election expenses. The first three of these offences are punishable by imprisonment with hard labour for one year, or by a fine not exceeding £200. Personation renders the offender liable to

imprisonment with hard labour for two years. False declaration of expenses amounts to perjury, and is punishable as such. Persons guilty of corrupt practices are further incapable of being registered as voters, of holding any public office, or of being elected to Parliament for the same constituency for seven years after conviction. Justices of the Peace may be removed, barristers disbarred, and solicitors struck off the rolls. Licensed victuallers permitting bribery or treating on their premises lose their licenses. A large number of practices are declared "illegal" by the Prevention Act of 1883, and are punishable by fines not exceeding £100, with or without loss of franchise for five years. The election of any candidate is void if, on petition, he is proved to have been guilty of corrupt or illegal practices by himself or by his agents, or if such acts have been committed with his knowledge and consent.

Privilege of Parliament, which corresponds in some sense to the prerogatives of a monarch, is based upon the fact that Parliament wields the sovereign power of the country, on behalf alike of the monarch and of the people. Thus the personal immunity of members was derived in the first instance from the authority and intervention of the Crown in their interest; and, in so far as this was the case, the privilege has latterly been waived, especially where it is to the benefit of individual members rather than of Parliament in its collective capacity. But in essential matters, touching the exercise of Parliamentary functions, privilege is stronger at this day (in spite of some apparent instances to the contrary) than it has ever been. Freedom of debate, which has been asserted mainly against the monarch, and the ancient right to have the most favourable construction placed upon the proceedings of

Parliamentary
Privilege.

Parliament (which precludes the intervention of the Crown before its assent is required), remain in all their force. Parliament also has the right of excluding strangers ; but it has abandoned the right to prevent the publication of its debates. It can also enforce its privileges by fine or imprisonment.

The Lords initiate bills affecting the peerage ; they must be tried (on charges higher than that of misdemeanour) by their peers ; they may lay special claim to the advice and aid of the judges, and they have the privilege of individual access to the sovereign. Dissident peers are entitled to record their protest against an Act of Parliament in the journals of their House.

The Commons have the sole right of initiating money Bills, appropriating the Supplies to particular purposes, and passing the public accounts. The House does not admit that the Lords can reject or even amend a Bill relating to taxation ; but when the Upper House in 1860 rejected a Bill for the repeal of the paper duty, the Commons were content to record a protest, and to defer the carrying of the Act until the following session.

Bills. Business in Parliament is either public or private—that is to say, it is either originated and conducted by the Government of the day, or originated by private members, and merely controlled by the Government. In the House of Commons especially, the time of the House is systematically divided between these two classes of business, and the Government is always able, under pressure of engagements, and with the consent of the House, to appropriate to its own purposes the time of private members.

Government Bills are such as were foreshadowed in the

original programme of the session, or such as are subsequently introduced to meet emergencies, or to carry out the expressed wishes of the House or of the people. Every session is opened by a Speech from the Throne, in which the main lines of the work for the session are laid down. In regard to each Bill, it is necessary (1) to ask leave for its introduction, and to give a general outline of its provisions. (2) Leave having been obtained, it is read a first time. (3) The Bill having been printed and put in the hands of members, and a certain time having been given for its consideration, one of the Ministers in charge of it moves that it be read a second time. Up to this point the proceedings are usually formal, but the motion for the second reading occasions a debate upon the principles of the measure, which are held to be accepted when the motion is agreed to, with or without a division. (4) If any amendments have been set down, a subsequent day is named for going into Committee of the whole House upon the Bill—and amendments may be made to the motion “that the Speaker do now leave the Chair.” (5) The Committee is usually the longest stage of a Bill; and the Government are expected to declare which of the amendments, if any, they elect to regard as questions of confidence, on which they are prepared to stake their position. (6) When all the amendments are disposed of, the Bill is ordered to be reported to the House as amended; and in the meantime it is reprinted. (7) On the Report stage another debate may be raised, and further amendments may be moved. (8) If the Bill is not thrown out on the Report stage, a motion is subsequently made that it be read a third time, when another debate and a division may take place.

The Bill, if passed by the Commons, is then introduced into the House of Lords, and a similar process is gone through ; but it follows from what has been said as to the balance of parties that the discussion of a Bill by the Lords is not likely to be eager or prolonged unless the measure has originated with a Liberal Government. When amendments are introduced by the Lords, the Bill goes back to the Lower House, which, after debate, either agrees or disagrees with them. In the latter case there is a conflict between the two Houses, which, if not ended by one or the other giving way, may be carried over to the succeeding session, or even referred to the judgment of the constituencies in a general election. Delegates of the two Houses are usually named, who by conference endeavour to reach a conclusion before the difficulty becomes acute. The plan of a joint sitting and a final vote, adopted in most recent Parliaments of two Chambers, has not been tried in Great Britain.

A Bill accepted by both Houses receives the royal assent before the close of the session—when it comes into operation, unless a special date has been assigned in the text of the measure.

The same process applies to Bills introduced by private members. These, however, rarely pass into law without the support of the Government, which can only be relied upon in the case of local measures not strongly opposed, or of measures arising out of an urgent expression of public opinion. Government Bills are usually in charge of the Ministers most concerned in their subject-matter—each Bill being endorsed by several names.

The debates in the Commons are presided over by the Speaker, who is elected after every general election, or on

the occurrence of a vacancy ; and so long as he remains Speaker he is pledged to hold the balance impartially between the different sections of the House. When the House is in Committee, the Speaker is relieved by his Deputy, the Chairman of Committees. It is not only for the discussion of the text of Bills that the House goes into Committee. Supply is always voted in Committee ; and the Speaker's deputy is then called Chairman of Ways and Means.

Legislation is often prepared for, or attended, by the appointment of Select Committees of the House of Commons, which make it their business to inquire into the necessity or value of particular proposals. The same class of Committees may be appointed for any purpose connected with the proceedings or discipline of the House. Inquiries of wide extent with a view to legislation, especially when sittings require to be held away from the House, are conducted by Royal Commissions, which may include members of either House, and men who belong to neither. Some few Commissions are permanent in their character, and some even exercise quasi-judicial functions.

In order to diminish the pressure of business on the time of Parliament, an experiment has recently been tried of appointing Grand Committees to deal with important measures of a legal or commercial character, as a substitute for the Committee stage in a full House. If the order of public business had been normal through the past few years, the same course would doubtless have been taken with an approach to regularity ; for it is recognized that the work of Parliament has outgrown its machinery, and that some system of devolution has become indispensable.

The Ministry. The political responsibility of Government is divided amongst the following holders of office :—

The Prime Minister—who is usually First Lord of the Treasury.

He may sit in either House of Parliament.

Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is primarily responsible for the Budget, and must sit in the House of Commons, which he usually leads when the Prime Minister sits in the House of Lords.

Lord High Chancellor, presiding over the House of Lords.

Lord President of the [Privy] Council. (Lords).

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (L.).

Secretary of State for the Home Department (usually Commons).

Secretary of State for War (L. or C.).

Secretary of State for the Colonies (L. or C.).

Secretary of State for India (L. or C.).

First Lord of the Admiralty (L. or C.).

President of the Board of Trade (usually C.).

Secretary for Scotland (C.).

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (L.).

Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (C.).

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (L. or C.).

Postmaster-General (C.).

Lord Privy Seal (L.).

President of the Local Government Board (C.).

The first ten of these offices are necessarily held by members of the Cabinet, and the other eight may be. Other Government offices which do not (or rarely) entitle to a seat in the Cabinet are those of the Vice-President of the Committee of Council (Education), Chief Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings, three Junior Lords of the Treasury, with a Political and a Financial Secretary of the Treasury, four Lords of the Admiralty and a Political Secretary, Political (or Under) Secretaries to the other

principal Cabinet Ministers, a Financial Secretary to the War Office, a Paymaster-General, a Judge Advocate-General, an Attorney-General, and a Solicitor-General.

Thus "the Government" numbers approximately forty-five, of whom about one-third on an average are in the Cabinet. The Lords of the Admiralty need not all have seats in Parliament; but Ministers can usually reckon upon thirty votes in the House of Commons in an emergency, without going outside their own ranks.

There is a distinction in character between the five Secretaries of State and the other Ministers, which is of actual as well as historical importance. The Secretaries are "of co-equal and co-ordinate dignity—all fully authorized to transact, if need be, each other's business—all equally competent to discharge these specific duties to the Sovereign which belonged to the Secretary of State, when as yet there was only one. Thus they are the only authorized channels whereby the royal pleasure is signified to any part of the body politic, whether at home or abroad, and any one of them may be empowered to carry the Sovereign's commands at any time to any person. The counter-signature of a Secretary of State is necessary, as has been remarked, to the validity of the sign manual, and this counter-signature may be attached by any one of these five ministers. The Secretaries of State were formerly resident in the royal household, and it is still the practice for one of them to attend the Queen during her occasional visits to various parts of her kingdom" (H. D. Traill, "Central Government"). Four, but not more than four, of the Principal Secretaries may sit in the House of Commons. One at least must be a peer, and all of them must be in the Cabinet.

**Administra-
tion of
Justice.** The basis upon which, in Great Britain, the administration of justice ultimately rests is the mutual responsibility of citizens for the peace and good conduct of the community. Ancient custom, the charters, the common law, and even statute law, have built up the fabric of public order on this foundation. That which was regarded on the one side as the imposition of a duty was treated on the other as the concession of a claim. The law was not more careful to require the performance of the functions which it assigned than the people to secure the rights which they valued. It is not surprising that the strongest institutions in the country are those in which the interests of authority and of personal liberty are equally concerned.

Voluntary, or at any rate unpaid service in the administration of justice is rendered by petty (common or special) juries, grand juries, magistrates in petty and quarter sessions, sheriffs, mayors and aldermen in incorporated boroughs, and, theoretically at least, by the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Paid and professional administrators are the stipendiary magistrates appointed to relieve the pressure which is felt in populous or specially disturbed sessional districts, county court judges, coroners, recorders, registrars, &c., judges of the High Court of Justice and of the Supreme Court of Appeal; to whom must be added archbishops and bishops, and judicial members of the Privy Council and the House of Lords.

The general distribution of judicial and quasi-judicial work is of this kind:—

Magistrates in petty sessions have a summary jurisdiction over misdemeanours involving comparatively light punishment.

Where they cannot, or will not, exercise this summary jurisdiction, they send the case for trial to quarter sessions or to the assizes.

Magistrates in quarter sessions (whose chairman may be a professional and paid lawyer) have jurisdiction over the more serious misdemeanours, attempted felonies, and civil and criminal complaints. They also take appeals from petty sessions.

County Courts (established 1846) decide civil suits involving sums not exceeding £50. They number about five hundred in England and Wales. At the desire of both parties the judge must have the assistance of a jury of five. These courts have also an equitable jurisdiction in other suits involving larger amounts, and in bankruptcy cases. An appeal lies to the High Court of Justice.

Grand Juries practically try beforehand the cases which come before judges of assize. They hear witnesses, consider the evidence, and either ignore the indictment against a prisoner or return a true bill.

Petty Juries are summoned to try civil or criminal cases at the quarter sessions, assizes, Central Criminal Court, or divisions of the High Court of Justice (except in Chancery). It rests with them to find, on the facts, a verdict for plaintiff or defendant, to assess damages, or to declare a prisoner guilty or not guilty. Their oath, however, binds them to try every case "well and faithfully;" and this implies that they will take their direction on points of law from the presiding judge. Trial without a jury is far more frequent in civil cases than in criminal.

Coroners' Courts inquire into sudden or violent deaths, shipwrecks, treasure trove, &c. Coroners are also justices of the peace and sheriffs' substitutes.

Police Courts, presided over by paid magistrates, have a criminal jurisdiction corresponding to that of magistrates in petty and quarter sessions. The more serious cases are committed for trial at assizes or at the Central Criminal Court; and from their decisions in minor cases there is an appeal to the High Court of Justice.

Assize Courts are held in every county twice a year, by judges

of the High Court in rotation, and by assistant-commissioners. They have a civil and a criminal side, and sit under five separate commissions, whereof the most distinctive and ancient is that of "general gaol delivery." An appeal lies from them, in civil matters, to the High Court.

The *Central Criminal Court* (established 1894) corresponds pretty closely to the assize courts in the counties. It is composed of the superior judges, the Lord Mayor, aldermen, recorder, and common serjeant. Two superior judges preside at each of its monthly sittings; but the minor cases are taken before the recorder, or the common serjeant, or the judges of the City of London and Lord Mayor's courts.

The *High Court of Justice* (reconstituted in 1873-5) includes the *Chancery*, *Queen's Bench*, and *Probate, Divorce and Admiralty* divisions—with twenty judges in addition to the presidents. The old equity rules of the Court of Chancery are now embodied with the rules of common law, and have a statutory basis. The Queen's Bench is the highest court for criminal trials, and has a more special authority over the administration of justice throughout the country than any of the other divisions. The older distinctions between the Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, have disappeared, and the legal procedure of the High Court is now determined by rules of court framed by the judges. Appeals from these courts lie to the

Supreme Court of Appeal, including the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chief Justice, Master of the Rolls, President of the Probate Court, and five Lords Justices of Appeal. Hence there is a further appeal to the

House of Lords—that is, to the Lord Chancellor, legal peers of judicial rank, and three Lords of Appeal who are appointed peers for life. Scottish and Irish appeals also come to the House of Lords.

Bishops' Courts for ecclesiastical cases are presided over by the bishops' ordinaries, from whom an appeal lies to the

Court of Arches, which is in effect the *Archbishops' Court*. From this court there is an appeal to the

Judicial Committee of Privy Council, consisting of the Lord President, Lord Chancellor, Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, Lord

Chief Justice, Master of the Rolls, Lords Justices of Appeal (all late or present), with any other judge who may be a member of the Privy Council, and one appointed paid judge. The Judicial Committee also takes appeals from the Supreme Courts in the Colonies and India, from the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man.

Judicial functions are also exercised in the Bankruptcy Court, in the Court for Crown cases reserved, by the Masters in Lunacy, and by the judges of provincial Courts of Record.

The punishments awarded by the criminal Punish-
code to different classes of crime are as ments.
follows :—

For high treason and murder	Death.
Attempting to murder; man- slaughter, arising out of criminal acts; arson of dwellings when persons are inside	Penal servitude for life.
Manslaughter arising from acts of a less serious criminality; assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm; rob- bery with violence or threats; burglary by night, or by day; forgery, coining, or uttering false deeds; piracy; bigamy; embezzle- ment; rioting and refusing to disperse	Penal servitude for any period, or imprisonment with hard labour, according to the discretion of the judge, up to the limit (if any) named in the statute.
Larceny and receiving stolen goods	As above; with special regard to the amount stolen, and consideration for first of- fences.

These, with some other crimes, are felonies. The following
are misdemeanours :—

Perjury ; obtaining by false pretences ; poaching, smuggling ; sending threatening letters ; with certain other crimes ;— also attempts to commit felonies ; and minor offences after previous conviction .	Penal servitude up to seven years ; or imprisonment with hard labour, up to two years, at the discretion of the judge.
Uttering false coin . . .	Imprisonment with hard labour.
Assaults, without intent to murder or inflict grievous bodily harm ; libel, slander, blasphemous or seditious statements ; corrupt and illegal practices at elections ; conspiracy to do unlawful acts, or unlawful conspiracy ; and other minor offences .	Imprisonment with or without hard labour ; or fine (with alternative imprisonment). In the case of libel, &c., imprisonment and fine may both be awarded.

Convicts under sentence of penal servitude may be sent anywhere in the Queen's dominions ; but there is no longer a statutory sentence of transportation, the system having been finally abolished in 1868. The chief convict prisons are at Chatham, Dartmoor, Portland, Millbank, Wormwood Scrubbs, Portsmouth, Dover ; for females, Fulham ; for invalids, Woking ; for military prisoners only, Brixton ; for criminal lunatics, Broadmoor. Holloway is specially known as the Queen's Prison, and is used mainly for debtors and others committed for contempt, and for prisoners not sentenced to hard labour.

There are fifty-six local prisons in England and Wales ; and others, including industrial prisons and about fifty reformatories, and one hundred and twenty industrial schools, in different parts of the United Kingdom.

Police. The ratio of policemen to population in England and Wales is about one to seven hundred and fifty. In the metropolis there are two forces ; and every

county and borough has its own force. The provincial forces are at the disposal of the magistrates in quarter sessions and the town councils respectively—the latter delegating their powers to Watch Committees. The discipline of county forces is in the hands of a Chief Constable, and of borough forces in those of a Head Constable. In London the Metropolitan and City Police are controlled by Commissioners. The whole organization is responsible to the Home Secretary. The main functions of the police are to maintain public order, to prevent or subdue breaches of the peace, to arrest actual law-breakers, or accused persons when armed with a warrant, to carry out the general or particular directions of their superiors, and to facilitate the administration of justice as may be required of them. Policemen are exempt from serving on juries; but they have been relieved of their former political disabilities.

Since 1856 the maintenance of an organized police force has been compulsory on all local authorities in towns and rural districts.

Law and procedure in Wales are practically the same as in England. Most English laws run in Ireland, though they are administered by distinct courts and in distinct (though similar) methods. In Scotland both the law and the procedure are indigenous to the country. The great connecting link in the administration of the United Kingdom is that the final Court of Appeal (except for the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands) is identical.

Amendments in the punitive system, combined with the spread of education, extended political responsibility, an efficient police, and other causes, have produced results of very satisfactory nature. It has been pointed out by Sir E. F. Du Cane, Surveyor-General of Prisons, that whilst

the population of England and Wales has nearly doubled in the last fifty years, the number of convicts undergoing penal servitude has decreased in the same time from nearly 50,000 to not quite 10,000 at the present day. The number of criminals sentenced to death has diminished from over 400 in one year to a present average of 29; life sentences from over 600 to 9; gaols from 256 to 59.

Local Adminis- Nothing serves better to illustrate the essential character of the general constitution of Great Britain than its existing system of local administrations. In new countries, and in countries where older forms have been swept away by summary methods, we find that experience and theory, combined by more or less skilful hands, free from the fetters of prescription, have produced paper organizations which in many instances work remarkably well, and which can be readily adjusted from time to time, as practice points out their defects. In Britain, almost alone of highly civilized States, the constitution is a product of slow accretion and accumulation. The systems of national and local government have not been thought out and elaborated as systems, but they are based on survivals, or they are the outcome of evolutions in which every care has been taken to graft new ideas upon old stems, and to preserve all that was not incompatible with the necessary innovations. This habitual method of development has had its distinct advantages, though its attendant evils are neither few nor inconspicuous.

Local Government is about to be remodelled; the change is decided on in principle, and awaits the convenience of legislators. In the meantime some account may be given of the existing state of affairs, out of which the new system will have to be constructed.

The oldest of the actual subdivisions are those of the counties and hundreds, the parishes and the boroughs. The 40 English and 12 Welsh counties are divided into 14,946 poor law or civil parishes, but the same ground is covered by about 13,000 ecclesiastical parishes, and again by 14,777 highway parishes. The incorporated municipal boroughs number about 250. The civil parishes are combined, for poor law administration, into 649 unions—of which, however, 25 are single-parish unions. Again, there are the county-court districts, sessional divisions, and police divisions. Recent Acts of Parliament have created 70 Improvement Act districts, 424 Highway districts, 858 Burial Board districts, 194 Lighting and Watching districts, and over 2,050 School Board districts. Thus many different areas have been repeatedly called into existence for different purposes, the old boundaries being in most cases neglected. The boundaries intersect, and the areas overlap, so that a given village, or town, or countryside, may be for various purposes under various local authorities, and the same individual may be rated by half-a-dozen independent bodies. It has been estimated that there are in England and Wales nearly 27,100 local authorities empowered to levy rates, and that the various kinds of rates number as many as eighteen. The Local Government Board has been authorized by Parliament to readjust the boundaries where it may be practicable; but nothing short of a complete re-casting of the administrative map will suffice to bring order out of chaos.

In an excellent Memorandum on this subject, which has frequently been quoted, Mr. R. S. Wright has described the prevalent confusion in striking terms—

“The inhabitant of a borough lives in a fourfold area

for purposes of local government—namely, in the borough, in a parish, in a union, and in a county; none of these are conterminous, unless by accident, with any of the others; and different parts of the borough are, or may be, in different parishes, and in different unions, and in different counties. He is, or may be, governed by a sixfold authority—the municipal council, the vestry, the school board, the burial board, the guardians, and the county quarter sessions; all these are different bodies, and inhabitants of different parts of the same borough are, or may be, under different vestries, burial boards, guardians, and quarter sessions. He is, or may be, subject to a borough rate, a general district rate, a poor rate, a burial rate, and a county rate.

“The inhabitant of a local-board district also lives in four kinds of districts—the local-board district, the parish, the union, and the county. He is, or may be, under six governments—the local board, the vestry, the union, the burial board, the quarter sessions, and the school board. Moreover, any of these districts or authorities, except the local board and its district, may be different for inhabitants of different parts of the same local-board district. . . .

“The inhabitant of a rural parish lives in a parish, in a union, in a county, and probably in a highway district. He is, or may be, governed by a vestry, a school board, a highway board, the guardians, and the justices.”

It is not necessary to enter upon the details of administration entrusted to the several authorities which have been enumerated—the less so, because the country is committed to a revision of the whole system. But a few details may be added as to the present basis of representation and qualification.

Town Councils are renewed by the annual retirement and re-election (on Nov. 1) of one-third of their number. There is a property or ratable qualification for members. The electors are occupiers, casting a single vote by ballot.

Local Boards are renewed as above (April 1-7). Qualifications practically the same as for Town Councils. The electors are owners or occupiers, casting from one to twelve votes, according to the amount of their rate. The voting is by open papers, left at the voter's house, and subsequently collected.

Boards of Guardians are elected annually (April 7-9). The qualification for members is a rate varying from £15 to £40. The electors are the same as for Local Boards, and the voting is conducted in the same manner.

Burial Boards are renewed annually by thirds. Members must be ratepayers, and the electors are occupiers, having one to six votes, according to rate. Election is by show of hands at an open meeting, with a subsequent poll if demanded on behalf of any candidate.

Highway Boards (March 25), Lighting Inspectors and Overseers (March 25) are elected annually, under the same conditions as Burial Boards ; but the election of Overseers must be confirmed by the Justices.*

School Boards are elected triennially, at the date determined by the first election after the creation of each Board. There is no qualification. The electors are the ratepayers, who vote by ballot on the cumulative plan ; that is to say, they may give to one or more candidates as many votes as there are vacancies on the Board, or in the several electoral divisions.

Municipal government was placed on a fairly satisfactory

* M. D. Chalmers, " Local Government " (*English Citizen Series*).

footing by the Act of 1835, followed by various amending Acts, the whole being codified in the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882. The Corporation of London was not touched by any of these measures, and the local government of the metropolitan area is in much the same condition as that of the country at large. In this case also it is probable that legislation will not be much longer delayed.

Corporations have power to make by-laws, and to enforce them by fines not exceeding £5. They frequently obtain from Parliament the necessary authority to carry out public works or to perform public services—such as the supply of gas and water—and to raise loans for these purposes on the security of the rates. They are also entrusted with the administration of the Artizans' Dwellings Acts, Cemeteries and Adulteration Acts, Public Health, and other Acts, with the establishment and maintenance of a police force, and of free libraries, museums, and schools of art, with the charge of burial grounds and markets, with the enforcement of the Education Acts in the absence of a School Board, and with other duties and functions of a public nature.

Of the judicial administration of the country something has already been said. It may be added that the chief executive and administrative officials in each county are the Lord-Lieutenant, the Sheriff, the Justices and Clerk of the Peace, the officials of the representative bodies above-mentioned, and the Police authorities, together with one or more Coroners, Surveyors, and Analysts.

Amongst the most important recent developments of local administration in Great Britain are the authorities and measures relating in one form or another to Public Health. To describe them with any approach to fulness

would extend too far this mere outline of the forms and methods of government; but the reader will find many details (on this as on kindred subjects) in the volumes to which reference has been made. See also page 74.

THE EXECUTIVE.

The ancient office of Lord High Treasurer was put into commission in 1715, and to this day the Treasury. Treasury is nominally administered by a Board. But the actual authority is divided between the First Lord and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—the Chancellor and the three Junior Lords being nominated by the Prime Minister, who, with rare exception, has been First Lord of the Treasury since the beginning of the century. All these officials, with the Patronage and Financial Secretaries, are members of Parliament, usually of the House of Commons; but the Permanent Secretary, as in all the public offices, cannot sit in Parliament.

The historical duty of the Lord High Treasurer was to provide for and guard the revenues of the Crown; and—now that the prerogatives and profits of the sovereign are practically converted into prerogatives and profits of the State—that is the duty of the Treasury at the present time. The Treasury estimates every year the public expenditure and revenue of the State; proposes to Parliament a mode in which the balance may be adjusted; controls the details of the expenditure from day to day; superintends the collection of the revenue; and exercises for these purposes a general financial supervision over all the public Departments.

The estimate of revenue and expenditure is made each year by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and eventually

presented by him in the shape of a Budget to the House of Commons—usually towards the end of March. The work of preparing this Budget occupies several months ; and the foundation is laid for it by the heads of the spending and revenue Departments, who before Christmas are called upon to submit their several estimates to the Chancellor. These estimates of the Departments are examined at the Treasury, and the Chancellor may disallow or call for the reduction of any items of contemplated expenditure which he thinks unduly high. When he knows what he has to provide, and what the existing sources of revenue are likely to produce, he has to consider (1) whether additional taxation will be necessary to meet an increased rate of expenditure ; (2) or whether the excess of income over expenditure will enable him to remit taxation ; (3) or whether he can suggest any re-adjustment of taxes likely to be less burdensome to the nation. The result of his inquiries and deliberation (in which he has had the aid of his Department, and especially of the First Lord) is placed before the full Cabinet, which assumes responsibility for the Budget before it is submitted to the House of Commons.

Without going fully into the manner by which the House is able to exercise control over the public expenditure, it may be said that votes in Committee of Supply are necessary in order to sanction the several items ; whilst further votes in Committee of Ways and Means are necessary in order to give effect to the proposals of the Budget for raising the money required. In addition to this the Government must carry a Ways and Means Act and an Appropriation Act, whereby the taxes voted are strictly appropriated to the several items of Supply.

When all these requirements have been complied with,

but not before, the public money can be distributed. It has been paid in as received on behalf of the Government, to the account of the Exchequer at the Bank of England (or of Ireland), and there forms the Consolidated Fund. On the passing of the necessary Act or Acts, the Treasury applies to the Comptroller of the Exchequer, and obtains from him a collective credit to the extent of the Parliamentary votes. It then supplies the Paymaster-General with directions as to the application of the money, and furnishes him with the sums necessary to discharge the several liabilities.

In the minor details of the expenditure of public money through the Departments, the Treasury exercises vigilant and beneficial control. Its sanction is required for any departure, however minute, from the authorized appropriation of the money placed at the disposal of each Department; and its officials are constantly in correspondence with the Departments in respect of claims and appeals made by them.

The Department of Inland Revenue and Customs, and the Post Office and Telegraphs, are under the special superintendence of the Treasury.

Something has been said elsewhere of the development of the Privy Council, and of the dis- The Privy
Council and
its Depart-
ments. crimination of its functions in modern times. The natural result of the limitation which is still imposed on the creation of Principal Secretaries of State, and of the unwillingness to establish outright new Ministries for new aggregations of executive functions, has been that statesmen have fallen back on the organization of the Privy Council to meet the need for further subdivisions of central government. Thus the Council which had already given birth to the Cabinet has since generated Committees

of Council on Education, one for England and one for Scotland, the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board, and Departments dealing with Public Health and Agriculture. The chief administrations now subordinate to the Council are the two Education Committees and the Agricultural Department.

The English Education Committee was established in 1853, as a development of a formerly existing Committee, having for its object to dispense the grants annually made by Parliament in aid of public education. These grants have increased in the course of fifty years to about five and a half millions sterling. The Committee includes the Lord President of the Council, the Vice-President of the Committee, who represents the Department in the House of Commons, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, and five or six other members of the Cabinet for the time being; it has a Permanent Secretary and several Assistant Secretaries, and a large staff of Examiners, Inspectors, and Clerks. The responsibilities of the Department were largely increased by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, under which it is required to see that every district in the country has sufficient school accommodation, and, if need be, to insist on its provision. It is also empowered to grant payments to schools on the results of its examinations and inspections, to contribute towards the furnishing of schools and the stipends of pupil-teachers, and to support training colleges for teachers. Its regulations are annually issued in the shape of a Code, which is submitted to Parliament.

The Scottish Committee differs somewhat in constitution from the English Committee. It issues its own Code, and has the disposal of over half a million sterling.

The Science and Art Department at South Kensington

administers over £400,000 of the Education Grant. It has its own Inspectors and Examiners, and the Lord President and Vice-Presidents are the only members of the Committee of Council who are actually concerned in its management.

From 1786 the Department charged with the general superintendence of the commercial interests of the nation was, for more than half a century, a Committee of the Privy Council. It is now an independent Board,* presided over by a Cabinet Minister, with a Parliamentary and a Permanent Secretary, and Assistant Secretaries for the Harbour, Marine, Finance, Commercial and Statistical, Railway, and Fishery Departments. The Marine and Harbour Departments have additional professional members; and these, with the Commercial and Statistical Department, may be regarded as having deliberative as well as ordinary executive functions. There are also three engineer officers as Inspectors of Railways, Inspectors of Fisheries, Gas Referees, Surveyors and Examiners in the Marine Consultative Branch, and other officials of a technical character.

With the decline of the collective deliberative functions of the Board as a Committee of Council, its advice is less frequently sought by other Executive Departments of the Government—which have themselves in some instances assumed a more deliberative character. For instance, its

* The connection with the Privy Council does not appear to have been actually severed. The Board was constituted as a Committee of Council in 1887, having as *ex-officio* members the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State, the Speaker, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. This seems to have been the last Order in Council of the kind, and the business of the Board is now transacted solely by the President and his Secretaries.

old function of negotiating commercial treaties has been transferred to the Treaty Department of the Foreign Office.

The Bankruptcy Division, with the Official Receiver's Office, the Patent Office with its Comptroller-General and Registrar of Designs, the Dublin Board of Trade and the Dublin Emigration Department, are all subordinate organizations under the same responsible head.

Local Government Board. The Local Government Board was established by Act of Parliament in 1871 (replacing the old Poor Law Board created in 1884), in order "to concentrate in one department of the Government the supervision of the laws relating to public health, the relief of the poor, and local government." The Board includes a special President, the Lord President of the Council, the five Secretaries of State, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It has also a Parliamentary and a Permanent Secretary, with a large staff of clerks, inspectors, auditors, &c., together with a medical officer, superintending the Public Health department. The President need not be, though he has several times been, a member of the Cabinet.

The business of the Board is to superintend the systems of poor relief and local government, of which some account has already been given; and its authority is consequently wider in extent than that of any other home Department. It controls the local affairs of every district in the country (though not of vestries and municipalities), in regard to rating and expenditure, debts and loans, the organization and service of Boards of Guardians, the framing of local and private Bills, the creation and amalgamation of unions and local-board districts, the general administration of all sanitary and public health Acts, as well as of Acts dealing

with adulteration, pollution of rivers, &c., &c. It audits the accounts of Boards of Guardians, Rural and Urban Sanitary Authorities, School Boards, Highway Boards, Overseers of the Poor, &c.—though in some instances this is the only authority which it wields over the bodies mentioned. Its sanction is necessary to the raising of every loan not specially authorized by an independent Act of Parliament, and it has, in fact, rendered excellent service by revising the conditions on which money is borrowed by the administrators of local taxation. There is no doubt that the nation's credit is largely involved in the amount and security of its Local Debt.

A separate Local Government Board exists for Ireland.

A distinct Secretary of State for Foreign ~~The Foreign~~ Affairs was not appointed until 1782, although ~~Office.~~ the essential duties of the office as it now exists had been previously discharged by more or less responsible Ministers. The Foreign Secretary is always one of the principal members of the Cabinet ; and so critical are the functions which he is frequently called upon to perform that no Prime Minister, when he is not himself Foreign Secretary, can divest himself of a special concurrent interest and responsibility in regard to them. The welfare and even the existence of a nation depend upon the right conduct of its relations with foreign Powers, and it is the duty of the Secretary of State to negotiate with these Powers, both by correspondence with the representatives of Great Britain abroad and by personal intercourse with the representatives of other countries in London. He is expected to smooth away difficulties and to facilitate agreements, to arrange conventions and treaties, and to protect his countrymen in other lands ; to be the intermediary between his

Sovereign and the Ministers of her allies; to select, or advise on the selection, of ambassadors and consuls; and generally to direct, as the instrument of the Government to which he belongs, the policy of his country in international affairs.

The attitude of the Foreign Secretary to the Crown on the one hand and to Parliament on the other is peculiar in more than one respect. The conduct of foreign affairs was almost the last important prerogative of the Crown to be brought under formal Parliamentary control; and even yet the Secretary of State is particularly bound to submit his measures beforehand for the sanction of the monarch, whilst he can be made answerable to Parliament only when these measures have been taken, and when their printed records are made public at his own discretion. So long as negotiations with foreign Powers are in progress, even if they may possibly result in war, or in a compromising treaty, it is in accordance with precedent, and no doubt in some degree for the public interest, that the Foreign Secretary should conduct them in absolute secrecy. The strongest argument in favour of this traditional practice is that diplomacy, under existing conditions, could not be so successfully carried on, especially with the great European Powers, if it were submitted at every step to the open discussion of a free Assembly.

It has latterly been urged with considerable reason that the foreign policy of the country will be strongest and most effectual when it is marked by a character of continuity from Administration to Administration—each successive Cabinet and Secretary holding themselves bound, except for very strong cause to the contrary, to take up and carry on the threads of negotiation in the same spirit, or in pur-

suance of the same objects. There is at any rate this advantage in the principle of continuity, that it would tend to minimize the evils arising from the admittedly inadequate control of Parliament over the action of the Foreign Office.

For many years past the Foreign Secretary has been a peer, and the Department has been represented in the Commons by the political Under-Secretary, who has had to bear the brunt of inquiry and criticism in the popular House.

The Departmental staff in Downing Street is not large. It includes the Permanent Under-Secretary and the Assistant Under-Secretaries, between thirty and forty clerks, two librarians, and a Superintendent of the Treaty Department.

The Diplomatic Corps in 1887 comprised— *Diplomatic Six Ambassadors Extraordinary and Pleni- Service.* potentiary, residing at Paris, Vienna, Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople.

Eighteen Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, residing at the Hague, Washington, Stockholm, Madrid, Teheran, Athens, Brussels, Lisbon, Berne, Tokio, Copenhagen, Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Rio de Janeiro, Peking, Tangier, Belgrade, Bucharest.

One Minister Plenipotentiary, residing at Cairo.

Nine Ministers Resident, at Lima, Caracas, Guatemala, Quito, Stuttgart, Montevideo, Santiago, Bangkok, Bogota; *three* Chargés d'Affaires, at Darmstadt, Munich, Cettinje; *six* Secretaries of Embassy; *seventeen* Secretaries of Legation, with Second and Third Secretaries, and Attachés.

The Consular Corps in 1887 comprised three Agents and Consuls-General, thirty-seven Consuls-General, one hundred and fifty-two Consuls, and four hundred and seventy-six Vice-Consuls.

The following general rules of diplomatic organization and precedence were laid down by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and by the Congress of Aix la Chapelle in 1818:—

“ Diplomatic agents are divided into three classes : that of ambassadors, legates, or nuncios ; that of envoys, ministers, or other persons accredited to sovereigns ; that of *chargés d'affaires* accredited to ministers for foreign affairs. Ambassadors, legates, or nuncios only have the representative character. Diplomatic agents on an extraordinary mission have not, on that account, any superiority of rank. Diplomatic agents shall take precedence in their respective classes according to the date of the official notification of their arrival. The present regulation shall not cause any innovation with regard to the representative of the Pope. A uniform mode shall be determined in each State for the reception of diplomatic agents of each class. Relations of consanguinity or of family alliance between Courts confer no precedence on their diplomatic agents. The same rule also applies to political alliances. In acts or treaties between several Powers which grant alternate precedence, the order which is to be observed in the signatures shall be decided by lot between the ministers. . . . It is agreed that ministers resident accredited to them shall form, with respect to their precedence, an intermediate class between ministers of the second class and *chargés d'affaires*.” These rules have been formally or tacitly accepted by all Governments except the Ottoman Porte, which divides diplomatic representatives into three classes only—ambassadors, ministers, and *chargés d'affaires*.

The Home Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for
Office. Home Affairs is charged with responsibility for the interests of the citizen in his relations with the State.

His special powers are based on precedent and legal decisions, but they are manifestly evolved from the title of the office. The Home Secretary is the chief guardian of the public peace, for he can control or set in motion the forces of the constabulary, and he has a revising authority over the action of magistrates. He can put the criminal law in operation, intervene at almost any moment to prevent a miscarriage of justice, advise the Crown to mitigate a sentence or to exercise the prerogative of free pardon. He has authority over the governors of prisons and their subordinates; he regulates and inspects the conditions of labour, wherever the law has had the framing of such conditions; he is the appointed guardian of workers in factories and mines, of lunatics, and even of dumb animals. It is he, again, who superintends the registration of aliens and the naturalization of foreigners. Even this does not exhaust the list of his responsibilities, which are, speaking generally, co-extensive with the relations between the individual citizen and the State.

That being so, it has naturally come to pass that the Home Secretary is always a member of the popular House of Parliament,* where he is in touch of the representatives of the people; and it has recently been held, though with less reason, that the duties of the Home Office can be best discharged by a politician who has had a legal training.

In former times the Home Secretary was responsible for the domestic affairs of Scotland and Ireland, as well as of England; but this is no longer the case, except in a few surviving instances.

The establishment in Whitehall includes—in addition to

* The last Home Secretary in the House of Lords was the Marquis of Normanby, 1841.

the Principal Secretary and his Parliamentary Under-Secretary, who go out with the Administration—a Permanent Under-Secretary with his Assistant and Legal Assistant, a graduated staff of clerks, renewed by competitive examination; a large staff of Inspectors (1) of Explosives, (2) of Factories, (3) of Mines, (4) of Burial Grounds and Homes for Habitual Drunkards, with three under the Acts regulating anatomy and vivisection, and one under the Cruelty to Animals Act. In the Prisons Department of the Home Office there are staffs for the central control of Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies, and of English Prisons; Inspectors of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and of the County and Borough Constabulary; the Prison Commissioners for Scotland, and the General Prisons Board for Ireland.

The Colonial Office. The relations between the mother country and her several colonies and dependencies will be referred to in detail later on, so that less need be said in this place than would otherwise be necessary as to the authority and operations of the Colonial Office.

In general terms, the Secretary of State for the Colonies has functions of three distinct kinds, which apply to all colonies alike, and more strictly to those which have the largest measure of responsible government. (1) He corresponds with the Governors on questions of colonial policy, especially as regards the attitude of colonies towards each other, towards foreign Powers, and towards the several races within their borders—taking from the Governors their views of colonial interests and responsibilities, and communicating to them the views of the home Government. (2) He receives a copy of every Act passed by a representative Assembly, and of every Ordinance of a Governor made

on the advice of his Council, and, therewith, a statement from the law officer of the colony, and a report from the Governor, with their opinions as to the object and possible effects of the law or ordinance. After due consideration he either advises his colleagues that the royal assent should be withheld, or signifies such assent to the Governor. Without this assent, no colonial law becomes permanently valid. (3) He receives from the Governor every year the colonial estimates of expenditure, beyond the regular and stipulated amounts, for the ensuing twelvemonth, together with full information thereon, and, subsequently, a statement of the mode in which it is proposed to raise the money; after which the colonial accounts require imperial sanction.

In the exercise of these functions the Secretary of State, like all the other Cabinet Ministers, acts only as one of a Cabinet which is collectively responsible to Parliament for the conduct of each of its members; and the frequency of his consultations with his colleagues depends upon the importance of the steps on which he is called to decide.

The Secretary of State is assisted by his Parliamentary Under-Secretary, both being removable with the Administration. The regular establishment in Downing Street includes the Permanent Under-Secretary and three Assistant Under-Secretaries, with a staff of clerks. The Chancellor of the Order of St. Michael and St. George is attached to the Colonial Office.

The three Crown Agents of the Colonies are assisted by an Accountant, a Registrar, a Chief Cashier, and a Head of the Contract Branch.

(See also *British Colonies and Dependencies*, page 94.)

The India Office. In dealing with India as a dependency we shall have to speak of the general government of the country. The statute of 1858 empowers the Council of India "to conduct all the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India," and it is the duty of this Council to advise the Secretary of State. The agreement of the Secretary and the Council is necessary in regard to all appointments to the Supreme Council in India, or to the Councils of the Presidencies, as well as to appropriations of the Indian revenue ; but in other matters the Secretary for the time being, who fills vacancies as they occur, is supreme—subject to his responsibility to his colleagues in the Cabinet, and to Parliament. The unwillingness of Parliament in 1858 to depart too far from the model of the former government of India led to the establishment of a Secret Department, through which the Secretary of State may, on emergency, despatch letters and orders to India without previously consulting the Council.

The Council consists of fifteen members, appointed for ten years, one of whom is Vice-President. Nine, at least, must have resided in India for ten years, and have left the country within ten years of their appointment. It is divided into Committees, each having a Secretary or Director, dealing with Revenue, Statistics and Commerce, Financial Affairs, Funds, Military Affairs, Political and Secret Affairs, Public Works, Stores, Legal Affairs, Judicial and Public Affairs.

It is evident that the power of the Secretary and of the Council (whose members cannot sit in Parliament), or of the two combined, is very great, and in some respects less amenable to Parliamentary control than the authority

intrusted to other Departments. But there are statutory limits, or limits inherent in the Parliamentary constitution of the country, which would prevent, in case of need, any abuse of the admitted liberty of action. Thus the Council is compelled to seek a Parliamentary sanction for any increase of the Indian debt, and returns have to be regularly made of all kinds of expenditure incurred by it. The Indian budget is annually presented to the House of Commons, and no doubt an effective popular control could soon be established over Indian finances if circumstances should occur to arouse in the constituencies unusual interest or anxiety.

The establishment of the India Office in St. James's Park comprises, in addition to the Secretary, Under-Secretaries, Council, and Committees—or Secretarial Departments, as they are commonly called—a large staff of Clerks, an Accountant-General's Department, a Registry and Record Department, an Audit Department, a Railway and Irrigation Department, a Medical Board, Inspectors, Supervisors, &c.

A Principal Secretary of State for War was first appointed in 1794–5, in addition to the Secretary at War who previously superintended the details of the War Department. The Secretary at War shared his responsibility with the Commander-in-Chief and the Board of Ordnance, whilst the Secretary of State, who was intended on his appointment to be specially answerable to Parliament, was so only in theory. In 1801 the affairs of the Colonies were intrusted to this latter official, who came to be regarded as a Colonial rather than as a War Minister. It was not until 1854 that the Crown appointed a distinct Secretary of State for War alone; and still the Secretary

at War was retained. But two years afterwards this last-named office was abolished, and the Secretary of State was made responsible for the general details of the Department, including ordnance and commissariat, militia and yeomanry. But there remains, of necessity, the Commander-in-Chief and his indispensable authority in regard to the army under his command; and it is difficult to see how any arrangement of duties could entirely remove the anomaly, with its consequent embarrassments, arising out of this duality. The principle, however, is now distinctly recognized that, the standing army being a Parliamentary force, for whose discipline and pay an annual vote of Parliament provides, its general management must be committed to an official directly responsible to Parliament, who must be in essence and form supreme over all other military officials.

Therefore the War Office is superior in authority to the Horse Guards, which is the department of the Commander-in-Chief, and it is necessary that all appointments and promotions in the army, which are actually made by the Commander-in-Chief, and all measures initiated by the Horse Guards, should be submitted for the sanction of the Secretary of State for War, in order that he may be answerable for the same to Parliament. If he rarely intervenes, he might at any moment withhold his sanction; and he would be just as answerable for withholding it as he is for giving it. As the Secretary is a member of the Cabinet, he can always fortify himself beforehand by taking the opinion of his colleagues; and, as a matter of fact, the most important commands in view of active service abroad are usually made by consultation between the Cabinet and the Commander-in-Chief.

For upwards of thirty years the Secretary of State for War has been a member of the House of Commons; and his Political Under-Secretary is usually a peer. There is also a Financial Under-Secretary in the Commons.

The establishment in Pall-Mall includes a Permanent Under-Secretary, an Assistant Under-Secretary, Directors of Supplies, Artillery and Stores, Contracts and Clothing, and the Chaplain-General. This is the Central Department. There are also the Departments of the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, of the Financial Secretary, and of the Commander-in-Chief—under whom are the Adjutant-General, with his Deputy-Assistant, and Deputy-Assistant Adjutants-General, the Quartermaster-General, &c. Sundry other Departments, and large staffs of officials and clerks, complete the establishment.

The Board of Admiralty is the outcome of an **The** Act of Parliament passed in 1690, and of a **Admiralty**. subsequent resolution of the House of Commons, whereby the old office of Lord High Admiral has been put into commission. The Board consists (like the Treasury Board) of Lords Commissioners—a First Lord and four Junior Lords. On every change of Administration it is re-constituted (as also on every removal of an individual Commissioner) by letters patent under the Great Seal. It has the general management of the navy at home, in foreign seas, and at the various colonies and dependencies, as well as of the dockyards and stores, of promotions and expenditure.

The Board is less independent than some other Departments of the Government. The First Lord, though always a Cabinet Minister, is not a Secretary of State, and the requirements of the Principal Secretaries are in the nature

of royal commands, which have to be carried out. Therefore in regard to the disposition of the fleet for particular services the Board has only executive functions, but within that limit it has a power of deliberation and initiation. In its independent action it is required to be unanimous. It is a rule that two at least of the Junior Lords should be naval, whilst the First Lord and one Junior Lord are generally civilians, and in Parliament.

The Political Under-Secretary is usually in a different House of Parliament from his chief, and when the First Lord is a peer the Under-Secretary is called upon to explain the Navy Estimates in the Commons.

At the office in Whitehall, in addition to the Board, its Secretaries, and the Permanent Under-Secretary, there are accommodated ten subordinate departments—the Secretary's, the Controller's, with its Constructive and Engineering Staff, the Victualling, Contract and Purchase, Medical, Accountant-General's, Transport, and Hydrographic Departments, and the Departments of the Director of Works and the Superintendent of Naval Reserves.

Channel Islands. The chief distinctive privileges of the Channel Islands date from the thirteenth century, when, to confirm their attachment to England, it was conceded that the inhabitants should be tried exclusively by their own courts, that no trial should be removed out of the islands (except in Admiralty cases), that no taxes should be levied by the monarch, and that the islands should make and use their own laws.

Both Jersey and Guernsey are governed by their States, which raise money for public purposes by local taxation,

and enact laws subject to the approval of the Privy Council. These laws, however, remain provisionally in force for three years, and lapse if they are not actually sanctioned within that period.

The States of *Jersey* include 12 jurats elected by the rate-payers for life, the rectors of the 12 parishes of the island (chosen by the Governor), the constables of the same parishes, elected triennially as constables, and 14 deputies from the parishes and towns. The sittings of the States are presided over by the Bailiff, appointed by the Crown, who is the Chief Justice of the island. The Governor is the head of the Executive, and his approval is necessary to validate the proceedings of the States. Justice is administered by the Bailiff and the 12 jurats ; and there is also an attorney-general, a solicitor-general, a high sheriff, and six avocats, or counsel, nominated by the Bailiff.

There is a code of laws which was issued under authority in 1771. Amongst the most ancient social customs of Jersey is that of gavel-kind, by which the land of a deceased person is shared by his children—the eldest son, however, taking one-half.

The States of *Guernsey* include the Bailiff and Attorney-General, 12 jurats elected by the ratepayers, and the rectors and constables of the nine parishes. Otherwise the government is the same as for Jersey.

Each island has a lieutenant-governor and a military establishment, the cost of which is borne by the nation.

Ecclesiastically the islands are in the diocese of Winchester, of which Guernsey constitutes a deanery.

Man, which was a kingdom at the end of the fifteenth century, and subsequently held in feudal tenure by the earls of Derby and the dukes of Atholl, was

Isle of
Man.

partially redeemed by the Government from the latter family in 1765, and finally in 1826. It is now subject to the Crown in every particular, saving its special constitution and institutions.

The legislative power is vested in the House of Keys, which, however, is no longer an elective body—its 24 members being renewed by co-optation. The executive power is exercised by a Governor, assisted by a Council of the principal officials. Their place of meeting was called the Tynwald—that is, probably, the enclosed “weald” in which the Thing was held (Compare the Danish and Swedish “things”). The “keys,” according to some authorities, were the “hostages” left by the Danish conquerors in the tenth century in charge of the government.

The judicial administration is controlled by two Deemsters, or chief justices, originally appointed for the north and south of the island. They preside over courts of chancery and exchequer, which hold eight sittings in the year. Six courts for civil and criminal cases are held in the six sheadings (divisions) of the island, with juries of four or six. The bailiffs’ courts in the towns decide cases for the recovery of debts under forty shillings. Appeals from the supreme courts lie to the House of Keys, and from thence to the Privy Council.

A short Act has been passed by the Imperial Parliament which provides that “if the Court of Tynwald of the Isle of Man resolve that it is expedient to impose, abolish, or vary any customs duties” as a matter of special urgency, it may do so at once, subject to the approval of the Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Treasury; and the regulation shall hold good for six months, and to the close of any session of Parliament then in progress, unless it be

annulled at an earlier date by Act of Parliament, or by a minute of the Commissioners aforesaid, declaring "that there is no prospect of such resolution being confirmed by Parliament." The annulment is to be "without prejudice to anything previously done in pursuance of" the resolution.

We have here an instance of the statutory delegation of initiatory powers in fiscal matters within the limits of the British Isles. By the letter of the Act, regulations might be made by the Court of Tynwald which would be injurious to English, Scottish, or Irish trade; but there is a safeguard in the provision requiring the preliminary approval of the Treasury.

The State exercised no systematic control over national education before 1870, when the ^{Education.} Elementary Education Act was passed.* This Act provided for the election of School Boards by the ratepayers of towns and rural districts where there was insufficient accommodation for children between the ages of five and thirteen. The Boards, elected for three years, have power to levy and expend a rate for the building and maintaining of elementary schools, and they are themselves subject to the authority of the Education Department (page 72), which inspects the schools, and grants payment by results out of funds supplied by an annual Parliamentary vote.

The national system is unsectarian and compulsory. Payment by results is granted to Voluntary schools, but not in respect of denominational teaching. In the case of these schools the compulsion is exercised by School Attendance

* Amended in 1878, 1876, and 1880.

Committees of local bodies, who have the same power as the School Boards to compel parents to send their children to an inspected school—*i.e.*, by summons before a magistrate, who is empowered to inflict a small fine. School fees are very small ; and the Guardians and school authorities have the power of remission in special cases.

A like system holds good in Scotland. In Ireland, however, elementary education is in the hands of the Commissioners of National Education.

Of the minor British Islands, grants are made to schools in Jersey and the Isle of Man.

The number of children of school age in the metropolis is reckoned at 762,000 (in the year 1887). Accommodation supplied by the School Board, 385,171 ; by Voluntary school managers, 260,270 ; total, 645,441. The number of children attending elementary schools of all kinds in England and Wales is (in the same year) about 3,500,000 ; in Scotland, 465,000 ; in Ireland, 510,000 ; total, 4,475,000.

Beyond the elementary schools for children up to the age of 13, the Education Department makes grants to Infant Schools or Classes, to schools for scholars over the "elementary" age, to Evening Schools, and to Training Colleges. Students in the last-named institutions must declare that they intend to adopt the profession of a teacher in a Public Elementary School or Training College, or in the Army or Navy, or in Poor Law Schools, Industrial Schools, or Reformatories—all of which are partly or wholly supported by the State.

The Government in 1887 introduced a Technical Instruction Bill ; and it may be concluded that the State is now committed to the extension of national education in this direction.

In addition to the Public Education just mentioned, the State has made itself responsible for various annual grants in aid of higher education, science, and art, reserving to itself more or less of control over the administration of the respective establishments. Thus in England aid is extended to the institutions under the Science and Art Department, to the British Museum and National Galleries, to London and Victoria Universities, to the Welsh University Colleges, and to sundry Learned Societies. In Scotland, to the Universities and the National Gallery. In Ireland to the Endowed Schools Commissioners, the Queen's Colleges, the Teachers' Pension Office, the Royal Irish Academy, and the National Gallery.

The Science and Art Department supports or aids a Normal School of Science, a Royal School of Mines, a National Art Training School, a General Museum, a Geological Museum, a Geological Survey, Museums at Edinburgh and Dublin, and Schools of Science and Art. The chief disbursement is under the latter head, in the form of payments on results to science schools, to art schools and classes, and for drawing in the elementary schools.

The ecclesiastical government of Great Britain, so far as the State is concerned therein, is administered by and through the Established Churches of England and Scotland. Religion.

The distinctive laws of the Anglican Church were formulated by Convocation in the reign of Elizabeth. The monarch is head of the Church, and as such practically appoints archbishops, bishops, deans (except in Wales), and certain other dignitaries depending on the nomination of the Crown. The appointment of bishops is by letters patent, or by the older form of *congé d'élire*. There are two

archbishops and thirty-one bishops in England and Wales. The Convocations of Canterbury and York are Parliamentary in form, each having two Houses, the Lower being representative. They are summoned by royal mandate, deliberate by virtue of a royal licence, and have no authority without a royal confirmation of their resolutions. Convocation cannot enact, though it may frame and initiate measures for Parliament.

The discipline of the Church in each diocese is under the control of the Bishop, with the assistance of his archdeacons, rural deans, chancellor, and registrar. The administration of the cathedral is in the hands of the dean, with a chapter of canons residentiary (usually four). Ecclesiastical government is administered in accordance with canon law, the judicial authority resting with the Bishops' Courts, and the two superior courts of appeal (page 60).

In each of the 13,000 ecclesiastical parishes into which England and Wales are divided there is a vestry, usually elected by the ratepayers, and presided over by the incumbent. The vestry annually elects one churchwarden, whilst the incumbent nominates another—the two together exercising a not very well-defined authority in the conduct of the church services.

Revenue, The sources of the public Revenue of Great Britain are these:—(1) Taxes on liquor, liquor licences, tobacco, and other articles of consumption; (2) Taxes on property and income, land and houses, establishment taxes and death duties; (3) Stamps; (4) Post and Telegraph Services; (5) Crown Lands; (6) Miscellaneous. About five-sixths of the revenue is from direct or indirect taxation, and about one-ninth from earnings—that is, from

public services performed by the State on behalf of the community.

The Customs tariff yields about £20,000,000, from duties on tobacco, tea, rum, brandy, wine, other liquors, currants, coffee, raisins, cocoa, chicory, figs, prunes, plate, plums, and a few unimportant items—profitable in the order given above. All other imports are free of taxation.

The Excise duties yield over £25,000,000, being levied on spirits, beer, publicans', grocers', and spirit dealers' licences, carriages, railways, licences for dogs, game, male servants, guns, tobacco, auctioneers, armorial bearings, wines, plate-dealers, brewers, pawnbrokers, hawkers, refreshment houses, medicine vendors, distillers, and others—profitable in the order given.

Of the Expenditure, about one-third consists of charges on the Consolidated Fund—that is, the aggregate miscellaneous fund standing to the credit of the Exchequer in the Banks of England and Ireland. Over one-third is accounted for by the Army and Navy, and one-fifth by the Civil Service, whilst the remainder is in the nature of drawbacks (cost of collection, &c.) from what may be described as the “earned income.” The main charges on the Consolidated Fund are for the interest and management of the Debt, terminable annuities, &c., the Civil List, granted Annuities and Pensions, the Courts of Justice, and miscellaneous Services.

In the year 1815 the National Debt amounted to £900,000,000. Over £150,000,000 has since been wiped out, and the Debt stood in 1887 at about £748,000,000. In the same year the permanent charge for “interest and management,” &c., of the Debt was reduced from twenty-eight to twenty-six millions, which includes £5,000,000 annually devoted towards repayment.

The estimated Revenue for 1887-8 was £91,155,000, of which £76,035,000 was derivable from taxation. This provided for a surplus of £975,000.

BRITISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES.

THE figures in the following list indicate the order in which the several countries are dealt with in the succeeding pages.

British North America . .	{	1. Canada.
	{	2. Newfoundland.
	{	3. New South Wales.
	{	4. Victoria.
	{	5. Queensland.
	{	6. South Australia.
Australasia . .	{	7. Western Australia.
	{	8. Tasmania.
	{	9. New Zealand.
	{	10. Fiji.
	{	11. New Guinea.
	{	12. Jamaica.
	{	13. British Honduras.
	{	14. Turks and Cacios Islands.
	{	15. British Guiana.
	{	16. Bahamas.
West Indies . .	{	17. Trinidad and Tobago.
	{	18. Barbados.
	{	19. Windward Islands.
	{	20. Leeward Islands.
	{	21. Bermuda.
South Africa . .	{	22. Cape of Good Hope and Dependencies.
	{	23. Natal and Zululand.
	{	24. West Africa Settlements.
	{	25. Gold Coast.
West Africa . .	{	26. Lagos.
	{	27. Niger Protectorate.
	{	28. St. Helena—Ascension.

Europe	{ 29. Heligoland.
	{ 30. Gibraltar.
	{ 31. Malta.
India Route . . .	{ 32. Cyprus.
	{ 33. Aden—Perim—Socotra.
Indian Ocean . .	{ 34. Ceylon.
	{ 35. Mauritius.
	{ 36. Straits Settlements.
	{ 37. Labuan—North Borneo.
	{ 38. Hong Kong.
	{ 39. Falkland Islands.
	{ 40. Western Pacific Islands.
-	India.

BRITISH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

The foundation of the British Empire beyond the seas began practically in the seventeenth century. Virginia received its first charter in 1606, and within the next two hundred years Great Britain secured a footing in every quarter of the globe; (1) by the voluntary exile of its citizens; (2) by conquest, especially from Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France; (3) by plantations under Government auspices; (4) by commercial enterprise; and (5) by expatriation of convicts.

The government of these colonies and dependencies by the mother country was intrusted (in 1768) to a Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. In 1782 this department was placed under the charge of an Under-Secretary for the Home Department, who presided at the "Office for the Plantations." In 1801 colonial affairs were managed by the Secretary for the Colonial and War Department. It was not until 1854 that an exclusive Colonial Department was again established; and four years later a new Secretaryship was created for India. Each Secretary

of State has now a political and a permanent Under-Secretary, with assistant secretaries and a staff of clerks. The affairs of the several colonies are grouped in four sub-departments—the West Indian, the North American and Australian, the African and Mediterranean, and the Eastern. A separate office is presided over by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, who specially transact financial and commercial business in connection with the Crown Colonies. This office took over so much of the work of the old Land and Emigration Board as was left to it on its abolition some years ago.

There are also in London the offices of the High Commissioner for Canada, and of the Agents-General for New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, New Zealand, and the Cape; and an Emigrants' Information Office, recently established.

The British Colonies may be classified as follows, in view of their progress towards self-government and independent local administration.

I. Having complete elective Legislatures and responsible Executives :—

Victoria	South Australia	Tasmania
Cape of Good Hope		

Amongst these the Cape Colony is distinguished by a specially elaborate system of local self-government.

II. Having elected Assemblies and responsible Executives with nominated Legislative Councils :—

Canada	Newfoundland	New South Wales
Queensland	New Zealand	

In the above nine colonies, having responsible represen-

tative government, the concurrence of the Crown is not required in the appointment of any public officer.

III. Having elected Assemblies, with nominated Executives :—

Bahamas

Barbados

Bermuda

IV. Having partly elected Legislatures of one or two Chambers, with nominated Executives :—

Western Australia

Jamaica

British Guiana

Windward Islands

Leeward Islands

Natal

Malta

Mauritius

V. Having a nominated Executive and a nominated Legislative Council :—

Fiji

Falkland Islands

West Africa Settlements

Turks Islands

Trinidad

Ceylon

Lagos

Straits Settlements

Labuan

Hong Kong

British Honduras

VI. Military administrations :—

St. Helena

Gibraltar

Heligoland

VII. Commissions (not distinct colonies) :

South African Dependencies

Cyprus

New Guinea

Western Pacific Islands*

* British Protectorates, varied in form, exist in North Borneo, the Niger territory, Pondoland, and elsewhere. Furthermore, "a number of islands and rocks throughout the world are British territory, or under British protection, but are not included in any Colony or separate Protectorate. Among such may be mentioned the Kermadec Islands (Pacific Ocean), the Ashmore group (Indian Ocean), Bird Island (Tasmania), Sydney Island, the Caroline and Flint Islands (Pacific Ocean), Maiden Island (off the coast of Victoria), the Purdy Group (New Guinea), Sombrero (West Indies); and there are many others. The Mushah

Crown Colonies are those in which the Crown has an effective control of legislation, and also of the public officers. The term therefore strictly includes all British colonies except those in the first and second classes, which may be described as Self-governing Colonies, or colonies with responsible government.

The difference between the two categories is constantly illustrated by the occasions and modes of the appeals which are made by the colonial authorities to the authorities at home. Thus, Victoria or the Cape of Good Hope would rarely refer to London, except by way of consultation on political and constitutional questions, on international and intercolonial relations, and on specified subjects which by desire of the Colonies have been made matters of common concern. There was recently an exhaustive interchange of views between the Home Government and the Cape on the question of the native wars in South Africa, and the proper division of responsibility for their conduct and settlement. In a case of this kind the mother country would have no hesitation in taking the initiative of intervention, if it seemed to be necessary to the welfare of the empire or any of its parts. Queensland deemed it incumbent on her to apply for imperial sanction before annexing a portion of New Guinea. Canada, under the same limitation of powers in regard to international questions, looked to the Foreign Office for the adjustment of her fisheries dispute with the

Islands, a group of coral reefs off the coast of Abyssinia, were ceded by the Sultan of Tejureh, and taken possession of on August 31, 1840. The Kuriyan-Muriyan Islands, five in number, off the south-east coast of Arabia, were ceded by the Imam of Muskat for the purpose of landing the Red Sea telegraph cable. On one of them, Hallaniyah, is the signalling station maintained by the Telegraph Company."—*Colonial Office List*.

United States. But whilst the Self-governing Colonies are unable to treat at first hand with foreign Powers,* they are not compelled to accept the settlement recommended to them by the Home Government: and this, perhaps, is the link at which the mooring-chains of the larger British Colonies are most likely (if at all) to snap.

In Crown Colonies, when these are not strategical positions important for the defence of the empire, the Home Government is still reluctant to intervene without special invitation; but the existence of a stipulated authority will sometimes lead to its exercise even when not judicious. The causes of such intervention are numerous, and they include matters of exclusively internal concern. Thus the recent difficulties between the Governor of Mauritius and a portion of his Council were in the first instance inquired into by her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, who assumed the government of the colony; and on appeal from his judgment the dispute was referred to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Of course the smallest as well as the largest of the British possessions may involve the empire in more or less difficult and critical negotiations with foreign Powers.

Details as to the form and methods of British Colonial Government are to be found in the *Authority*. *Rules and Regulations* drawn up by the Colonial Office for the guidance of Governors and their subordinate officers. From these Regulations it is possible to obtain a general idea of the authority and duties of Governors, Executive and Legislative Councils, and Assemblies, subject to the special laws of each colony.

* Except that Canada has this right in respect of her commercial tariffs.

Thus, the *Governor* "is empowered to grant a pardon or respite to any criminal convicted in the Colonial Courts of justice. He may pardon persons imprisoned in Colonial Gaols under sentence of a Court-martial: but this is not to be done without consulting the Officer in command of the Forces. He has in general the power of remitting any fines, penalties, or forfeitures, which may accrue to the Queen, but if the fine exceeds 50*l.*, he is in some Colonies only at liberty to suspend the payment of it until Her Majesty's pleasure can be known. The moneys to be expended for the Public Service are issued under his Warrant, as the law may in each particular case direct. The Governor of a Colony has usually the power of granting licences for marriages, letters of administration, and probate of wills, unless other provision be made by Charter of Justice or local law. He has also, in many cases, the presentation to benefices of the Church of England in the Colony. He has the power, in the Queen's name, of issuing writs for the election of Representative Assemblies and Councils, of convoking and proroguing Legislative Bodies, and of dissolving those which are liable to dissolution. He confers appointments to offices within the Colony, either absolute, where warranted by local laws, or absolute and provisional, until a reference has been made to Her Majesty's Government. In Colonies possessing responsible Government, he has, with his Council, the entire power of suspending or dismissing public servants who hold during pleasure. In other Colonies he has the power of suspending them from the exercise of their functions under certain regulations, which must be strictly observed, and a limited power of dismissal. He is empowered to administer the appointed oaths to all persons, in office or not, whenever he may think fit, and particularly the oath of allegiance provided by 21 and 22 Vict. c. 48, s. 1. He has the power of granting or withholding his assent to any Bills which may be passed by the Legislative bodies. But he is required, in various cases, by his Instructions, to reserve such Bills for the Royal Assent, or to assent to them only with a clause suspending their operation until they are confirmed by the Crown. These cases are not defined alike in all Instructions; but they comprise, generally speaking, matters touching the Currency, the Army and Navy, Differential Duties, the effect of Foreign Treaties, and any enactments of an unusual nature touching the prerogative or the rights of Her Majesty's subjects not resident in the Colony. If anything should happen which may be for the advantage or security of the Colony, and is not provided for in the Governor's Commission and Instructions, he may take order for the present therein. He is not to declare or make war against any foreign State, or against the subjects of any foreign State. Aggression he must at all times repel to the best of his ability; and he is to use his best endeavours for the suppression of piracy. His attention is at all times to be directed to the state of discipline and equipment of Militia and Volunteers in the Colony and when either force may be embodied he should send home monthly Returns, with a particular account of their arms and accoutrements. Periodical Reports on this subject, which may not call for immediate attention, may be included in the annual 'Blue Book.' He is on no account to absent himself from the Colony without Her Majesty's per-

mission. He is prohibited from receiving presents, pecuniary or valuable, from the inhabitants of the Colony, or any class of them, during the continuance of his office, and from giving such presents; and this rule is to be equally observed on leaving his office. In cases where money has been subscribed, with a view of marking public approbation of the Governor's conduct, it may be dedicated to objects of general utility, and connected with the name of the person who has merited such a proof of the general esteem. Governors are not, without special permission, to forward any articles for presentation to Her Majesty.

Legislative Councils and Assemblies.

“Legislative Councils nominated by the Crown consist, generally speaking, in part of the principal Executive Officers of the Colony, and in part of private persons appointed by name: the former being usually termed Official, and the latter, Unofficial Members. The proportions are prescribed by the respective charters or Commissions or Instructions to Governors. The precedence of the Members of Council between themselves is regulated by the Royal Instructions. In some cases, that precedence depends on seniority of appointment alone, but in other cases that rule is qualified by assigning to the Official Members of Council precedence over the Unofficial Members. When a vacancy occurs by the demise, resignation, &c., of a Legislative Councillor appointed by name, the Governor may in general appoint provisionally to such vacancy until Her Majesty's pleasure may be known. The general rule is that no Member of Council may, on pain of vacating his seat, absent himself for more than six months except by leave of the Governor, whose power is limited to granting a leave of absence in some cases of twelve, and in others of eighteen months. Any more protracted leave of absence must be granted by the Crown. In the Colonies not having Representative Assemblies, the initiation of all laws belongs in general to the Governor. In Colonies having such Assemblies it is in many cases provided by Local or Statute law that the initiation of all measures for the appropriation of public money shall belong to the Governor. In every Colony the Governor has authority either to give or withhold his assent to laws passed by the other branches or members of the Legislature, and until that assent is given no such law is valid or binding. Laws are in some cases passed with suspending clauses; that is, although assented to by the Governor they do not come into operation or take effect in the Colony until they shall have been specially confirmed by Her Majesty, and in other cases Parliament has for the same purpose empowered the Governor to reserve Laws for the Crown's assent, instead of himself assenting or refusing his assent to them. Every law which has received the Governor's assent (unless it contains a suspending clause) comes into operation immediately or at the time specified in the law itself. But the Crown retains power to disallow the law; and if such power be exercised at any time afterwards, the law ceases to have operation from the date at which such disallowance is published in the Colony. In Colonies having Representative Assemblies the disallowance of any law, or

the Crown's assent to a reserved bill, is signified by Order in Council. The confirmation of an Act passed with a suspending clause is not signified by Order in Council unless this mode of confirmation is required by the terms of the suspending clause itself, or by some special provision in the constitution of the Colony. In Crown Colonies the allowance or disallowance of any law is generally signified by despatch. In some cases a period is limited, after the expiration of which local enactments, though not actually disallowed, cease to have the authority of law in the Colony, unless before the lapse of that time Her Majesty's confirmation of them shall have been signified there; but the general rule is otherwise. In Colonies possessing Representative Assemblies, laws purport to be made by the Queen or by the Governor on Her Majesty's behalf, or sometimes by the Governor alone, omitting any express reference to Her Majesty, with the advice and consent of the Council and Assembly. They are almost invariably designated as Acts. In Colonies not having such Assemblies, laws are designated as Ordinances, and purport to be made by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council (or in British Guiana of the Court of Policy). In West India Islands, or African Settlements which form part of any general Government, every bill or draft Ordinance must be submitted to the Governor-in-Chief before it receives the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor or Administrator. If the Governor-in-Chief shall consider any amendment indispensable, he may either require that amendment to be made before the law is brought into operation, or he may authorize the Officer administering to assent to the bill or draft on the express engagement of the Legislature to give effect to the Governor-in-Chief's recommendation by a supplementary Enactment.

The Executive Council.

"The Executive Council (whether separate or not from the Legislature) has the general duty of assisting the Governor by its advice. In some cases, by local Enactment, he can only act with this advice; but, generally speaking, he is not absolutely precluded from acting without it if the public interest requires him to do so. But in this case he must conform to certain special Rules laid down in his instructions; which likewise prescribe the course to be taken by Councillors in recording their opinion in opposition to the Governor's. In Colonies possessing what is called Responsible Government the Governor is empowered by his Instructions to appoint and remove Members of the Executive Council, it being understood that Councillors who have lost the confidence of the local Legislature will tender their resignation to the Governor or discontinue the practical exercise of their functions in analogy with the usage prevailing in the United Kingdom. In other Colonies the Executive Council when separate from the Legislative Council commonly consists of certain principal officers of the Local Government, with or without an admixture of Unofficial Members. These Councillors are appointed by the Governor's Instructions or by Warrant from the Crown, the Governor having in some cases the power of making provisional appointments, subject to the Crown's confirmation. They may be dismissed by the Crown alone,

but may be suspended by the Governor, following, as far as the nature of the case will allow, his General Instructions as to the suspension of Public Officers. In the West India Colonies, possessing Representative Assemblies, the Councils in some cases possess, concurrently with the Governor, a judicial authority as a Court of Error, and in some cases they also audit the public accounts. To the Executive Council, associated with the Chief Judge of the Colony, is also in general intrusted the duty of administering to the Governor, on his arrival, the usual oaths of office; which being done, the Governor administers to the Members of the Executive Council, and others, the oaths of office to be taken by them respectively. Each new Member of Council, on his appointment, is also required to take the oaths applying to his particular case."

The initial organization of British possessions **British**
 "acquired by settlement" is provided by the **Settlements**
British Settlements Act, which declares that "it **Act.**
 shall be lawful for Her Majesty the Queen in Council from time to time to establish all such laws and institutions, and constitute such courts and officers, and make such provisions and regulations for the proceedings in the said courts, and for the administration of justice," as may be necessary; also "from time to time, by any instrument passed under the Great Seal . . . to delegate to any three or more persons within the settlement all or any of the powers" aforesaid. Nevertheless, the Queen in Council may at all times exercise any of the powers under this Act, subject always to the subsequent information of Parliament.

It is urged by some that the connection between **Federation.**
 Great Britain and her Colonies might be placed on
 a firmer and sounder basis by changing the present imperial relations into those of federated States, so that the optional regulation of common interests and responsibilities might be undertaken by a single controlling Council, which would have a deliberative function and an arbitral authority, with or without eventual powers of legislation and execution. This is perhaps the most concise expression possible of the

views of those who have intelligently advocated the federation of the countries which now make up the British Empire. The advantages of such a federal Council are manifest. It would undoubtedly facilitate arrangements for the common benefit, and provide an easy process for the solution of difficulties which must from time to time arise between the mother country and the scattered members of her family. No popular vote, however, has yet been taken on the subject in any of the great Self-governing Colonies, and without favourable votes in the local Parliaments and constituencies the adoption of a formal system of federation is impossible.

Meanwhile the federation of colonial groups into Dominions has made good progress. The confederation of British North America is all but complete. That of Australasia is accomplished in part; and in all probability the South African settlements will follow suit. (See under *Canada* and *Australasia*.)

An important new departure in the imperial management of colonial affairs was made in April, 1887, when a conference of representatives met in London under the presidency of the Colonial Secretary, on the invitation of the Home Government, and with powers strictly limited to consultation and discussion. All the Colonies were more or less formally represented, and the meetings were attended at various times by the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, former Secretaries and Under-Secretaries, and, whenever questions specially affecting particular Departments were under discussion, the responsible Ministers and officials of those departments. The subjects conferred upon were the organization of colonial defence, postal and telegraphic communication,

the questions relating to new settlements in the Pacific, and sundry topics of a commercial and legal character, on most of which there was either a valuable interchange of views or an approach to practical and definitive resolutions.

It is uncertain whether this innovation on the imperial system of colonial government will be developed into a permanent institution. At any rate the Conference of 1887 had value not merely as a precedent but also by reason of its accomplished results. The conclusions to which international importance is attached were summarised in the circular addressed by Sir Henry Holland to the Colonial Governors, and are briefly as follows :—

“ Whilst the Australasian representatives generally concurred in expressing dissatisfaction at the present position of British interests in the Pacific, there was a divergence of opinion as to the course which might be most beneficial to their interests in the future ; and it was ultimately agreed unanimously that the proposal of Her Majesty’s Government to preserve the neutrality of the New Hebrides under a joint Anglo-French Naval Commission was a satisfactory one, and should be pressed on as speedily as possible, being the best that could, in the present circumstances, be adopted. A strong protest, however, was placed on record against any further deportation of French recidivists to New Caledonia, or any extension of that system to other islands in the Pacific.

“ With regard to Samoa, the Conference approved the proposal now being considered at Washington by representatives of Germany, the United States, and this country, that one of the three great Powers having interests in the group should for a term control native affairs there.

“ The settlement of the administration of British New Guinea upon a proper footing with a view to the assumption of the Queen’s sovereignty over the southern portion of the island has also been accomplished, and the draft Bill approved by the Conference sets forth the conditions of the arrangement. The colony of Queensland, concurrently with the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, has engaged to defray the cost of administration to the extent of £15,000 a year for ten years, while Her Majesty’s Imperial Government will provide a suitable steam vessel, with the cost of its maintenance for three years, at an estimated total cost of £29,000.

“ Various questions in connection with trade were debated, such as the adoption by the colonies of similar legislation to that proposed in the mother country with regard to merchandise marks and patents, and the effect of foreign bounties upon the sugar trade of the colonies. In regard to this

last question, the representatives generally urged that, in justice to colonial industries and trade which are injuriously affected by the sugar bounties, Her Majesty's Government should spare no effort to bring about the abolition of that unsound system.

"Among the suggestions put forward was a proposal that commerce within the Empire should be encouraged by imposing a duty of an equal rate on all imports entering the Empire from foreign countries, and that the revenue thereby acquired should be applied to the defence of the Empire. It was also urged that permission should be given to the self-governing colonies to enter into direct negotiations with foreign Powers in regard to trade matters, as had been allowed in the case of Canada."

The provisions of this Conference for colonial defence were based on a modification of former arrangements. Of late years there have been no British troops regularly established in the Self-governing Colonies, except at Halifax and Capetown. The Colonies undertook their own defence by land; Canada maintaining a trained force of 37,000 men, Australia of 34,000, the Cape of 5,500, and Natal of 1,500, with reserves in each case. The protection of colonial commerce has always been secured by the imperial navy; and an arrangement is now proposed by which the Australian Colonies in the first instance, and perhaps others subsequently, will obtain by an annual contribution of money the service of a specialised and reinforced squadron on the colonial station.

Colonization. The historical origin of the Colonies and Dependencies is of much importance in connection with their development and actual government.

Great Britain obtained—

By Occupation and Settlement: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, North-West Territories, British Columbia, Newfoundland, all the Australian Colonies, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, Barbados, Leeward Islands, St. Helena, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Gold Coast, Falkland Islands.

By Conquest or Capitulation : Ontario, Quebec, Gibraltar, Malta, Jamaica, St. Lucia, British Guiana, Trinidad, Mauritius, Ceylon, Heligoland. Also India.

By Annexation : Bechuanaland, Burmah,* British New Guinea.

By Treaty Cession (after war or otherwise) : Cape of Good Hope, Honduras, St. Vincent, Windward Islands, Tobago, Dominica, Lagos, Fiji, Hong Kong, Labuan, Straits Settlements.

In every case it will be found that the mode of acquisition has stamped its character upon the subsequent organization of the colony or dependency. The highest development has been attained by the countries colonized by immigration from the mother country, such as British North America and Australia; and the Cape of Good Hope is virtually one of these. The most rapid settlement has been effected in fertile lands with comparatively few native inhabitants, and especially where the so-called Wakefield policy of colonization has been adopted. In 1833 Wakefield published his "View of the Art of Colonization," which concentrated attention upon the young colonies in Australia. The discussion which ensued gave rise to a Parliamentary inquiry, and to sundry amendments in the methods of colonial settlement. Wakefield's economic principles were mainly these—(1) that in a new country wisdom dictated the close association of the early settlers, who were specially dependent upon co-operative labour, and more likely to thrive when they could readily exchange commodities and personal services; and (2) that the funds derived by the first sales of small allotments at low prices should be instantly applied to the bringing out of fresh emigrants from the mother country. South

Australia, in particular, adopted these ideas in a practical manner, with very good results, and they were carried out in New Zealand by the Land Association which Wakefield was instrumental in forming.

The opposition to penal transportation, conducted by Molesworth, Rintoul, and other public writers and speakers (amongst whom Wakefield also was included), virtually brought the system to an end—at any rate so far as the British colonies are concerned.* The arguments employed by these men fifty years ago were strong enough in reference to colonies already established, to which a steady stream of free emigration had set in. They do not seem to have so much weight as against the planting of convicts under healthy conditions on virgin soil, in new and very thinly populated (or unpopulated) districts. There are still large tracts of habitable land under British control where selected convicts might be established, with adequate guarantees as to selection, safe-guarding, and a just degree of restraint or liberty. It would scarcely be unreasonable to expect, amongst other results of this difficult yet highly interesting form of colonization, the founding of new settlements, the frequent regeneration of men and women otherwise lost to themselves and to humanity, the expansion of our corrective and preventive system of punishments, which is confessedly imperfect and indiscriminating, and, generally, such an economic gain as has been amply proved to have accrued from similar experiments in former generations, despite the evils and drawbacks which accompanied them.

A policy of colonization is still actively pursued by the

* In 1837 there were about 43,000 convicts under sentence in the Australian colonies.

mother country, in regard to new settlements as well as to the older Colonies. But it is left for the most part to the efforts of individuals or associations, the State remaining benevolently neutral, or assisting chiefly with advice, information, and protection. Some of the Colonial Governments have spent large sums in bringing self-supporting immigrants from Great Britain. Up to this time the Home Government has not been induced to adopt a systematic scheme of State-aided and State-directed colonization, though it has been urgently pressed to do so. The most definite of the plans recently put forward recommends the formation of a Colonization Board, on which the mother country and the Colonies should be jointly represented. The necessary capital would have to be raised on an imperial guarantee of moderate interest, for a term of years, and the colonists sent out by the aid of this fund would be expected, after the first year, to pay a somewhat higher rate of interest for the money advanced to them. Under this scheme the Colony would make free grants of land, and the settler would hold his plot subject to a rent-charge (for the above-mentioned interest), which might be extinguished in about thirty years.

(1) CANADA.

Canada (capital Ottawa) lies to the north of the United States, from which it is separated by the 49th parallel of north latitude between the coast of British Columbia and Lake of the Woods in Manitoba, and thence by a chain of lakes and rivers to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. On the north-west frontier is Alaska, an almost uninhabited land of half a million square miles, which was purchased by the United States from Russia in 1867. Greenland,

belonging to Denmark, faces Labrador and Cockburn Island, and is separated from the latter by Davis's Strait. The Dominion extends between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which are connected by the Canadian Pacific Railway—a new highway of commerce which considerably shortens (in one direction) the circuit of the British Empire.

The area of Canada is about 3,510,000 square miles—nearly thirty times the size of Great Britain and Ireland. Its population is estimated at about 5,000,000, of whom the French race number about 1,500,000, the British nearly 3,000,000, and Indians 100,000.

The Dominion was constituted by an imperial Act of Parliament, in 1867, out of the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Rupert's Land (Manitoba, &c.) was added by an Order in Council, 1870, on purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company; British Columbia (with Vancouver Island) in 1871, and Prince Edward Island in 1873. In 1880 the Privy Council annexed to the Dominion all British possessions in North America with the exception of Newfoundland. These successive Orders in Council have been issued in compliance with the expressed wishes of the Dominion and the provinces, and in accordance with a provision of the Constituting Act of 1867. Nova Scotia has since shown symptoms (apparently transient) of a desire to withdraw.

GOVERNMENT.

The province of Quebec has been British since 1763, the population at that time being almost exclusively French. It was placed under English law until 1774, when a Governor and a Legislative Council were appointed by the Crown, and the use of the French civil law was conceded. In 1791 the

province was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, each portion being empowered to elect a popular Assembly, in addition to the nominated Council. In 1840 (after a rebellion in 1838) the provinces were reunited; and in 1854 a Constitution was granted, under which more than two-thirds of the Council, and the whole of the Assembly, were representative, whilst the government of the country was framed, as far as possible, on the English model. Municipal institutions had been created in 1840, and the Act of 1854 divided the electorate into 125 constituencies, returning 130 members to the Assembly and 48 to the Council. These were assigned equally to Upper and Lower Canada, but so long as the provinces had only one legislative body between them there was constant friction amongst the members. Hence the necessity for the Act of Confederation in 1867 (known as the "British North America Act," 30 Vic. c. 8).

Under this Act the government of the country is framed more precisely than before on the **Executive** pattern of that of Great Britain, the Governor-General (with a salary of £10,000) representing the monarch, from whom he receives his appointment. He selects his own Privy Council, which at this time includes the Cabinet (fourteen in number), the Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, and Manitoba, six judges, the past and present High Commissioners in London, members of both parties in the Senate and House of Commons, and others, making a total of fifty. The seat of the government is at Ottawa, and the Governor-General holds office for five years. Each of the eight provinces has a Lieutenant-Governor, who is assisted by an Executive Council, or Cabinet.

**Legisla-
ture.** The Dominion Parliament consists of a Senate and a House of Commons—the latter being entirely representative, and the former being nominated (for life) by the Governor-General on the advice of the Cabinet. The legislative power is vested in the Queen, Senate, and Commons, the right of veto being exercised by the Governor-General, and potentially by the Crown. In addition to this central Parliament each province (except the North-West Territories) has a Legislative Assembly ; and Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia have also a second (elective) chamber, called a Legislative Council. In the provincial Parliaments the right of veto is exercised by the Lieutenant-Governors, and subsequently by the Governor-General. Subject to this reservation, the provinces have power to modify their constitutions.

The legislative powers of the Dominion Parliament, like those of the provincial Parliaments, are delegated by the Crown. The distinction of the several powers may be made clear as follows :—

DOMINION LEGISLATION.	PROVINCIAL LEGISLATION.
Imperial relations.	Provincial constitution.
Foreign and Native affairs.	,, taxation.
National defence.	,, finance and trade.
Dominion finance and trade.	,, loans and public lands.
,, tariffs and taxation.	,, public institutions.
,, intercommunication.	Civil law and procedure.
Criminal law ; bankruptcy.	Education.
Banking, currency, coinage.	Local works and licences.
Copyrights and patents.	Other matters not reserved.
Marriage and naturalization.	

The Dominion Parliament does not, in theory, interfere with the matters delegated to the Provincial Legislatures.

It, however, reserves certain points in regard to education, in order to secure protection for religious minorities ; and it exercises concurrent rights with the Provinces in respect of agriculture, immigration, public revenue and expenditure, &c. Each Provincial Government receives a quota of the public revenue in aid of local expenditure.

The general distribution of electoral power will be manifest from the following table :—

	Seat of Government.	Members of Dominion Senate.	Members of Dominion H. of Comm.	Members of Prov. Legislative Council.	Members of Prov. Legis. Assembly
Ontario	Toronto	24 nom.	88	—	88
Quebec	Quebec	24 "	65	24	65
Nova Scotia	Halifax	12 "	21	15	88
New Brunswick	Fredericton	12 "	16	18	41
Manitoba	Winnipeg	8 "	5	—	35
British Columbia	Victoria	8 "	6	—	27
Prince Edward Is. . . .	Charlottetown	4 "	6	18	30
N.W. Territories	Regina	—	—*	Exec. { 7 nomin. Coun. { 14 elect.	—
DOMINION	Ottawa	82 "	207		

These numbers were adjusted by the Redistribution Act of 1886, which, for the first time, admitted Indians in the reserves to the franchise, and added something like 200,000 voters to the electoral lists.

The House of Commons is elected every five years—the last election having been held in 1887. The electorate includes male subjects of full age, being owners or occupiers of land or houses, or other property, of the minimum value of £30, or the yearly value of £4, or earning an income of not less than £60 a year, or being the son of an elector who possesses sufficient qualification for one or more sons in addition to his own qualification. Elections are held by ballot.

* At the next general election the N.W. Territories will return four members to the House of Commons.

The ratio of members to total population is fixed at one for 17,000.

The representation of the North-West Territories in the Executive Council adjusts itself automatically, a new elected member being allowed for every increase of 1,000 adults in each area of 1,000 square miles. The Territories are subdivided into the four districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca.

Titles. Canadian subjects frequently receive British knighthoods, especially of the Orders of St. Michael and St. George and of the Bath. Members of the Privy Council, Dominion Senators, and members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, are addressed as Honourable.

Law. The Supreme Court of Canada is made up of the Chief Justice of Canada and five puisne judges. Appeals lie to it from the provinces, and from it to the Privy Council in London. The Department of Justice is controlled by a Minister, who is also Attorney-General, with a seat in the Cabinet. Attached to this Department is a Chief Commissioner of the Dominion police.

The Governor-General appoints the judges of the supreme courts of the Dominion, and of each Province; also of the provincial High Courts, the district and county courts—in this, as in most of his functions, acting through and by the advice of the Cabinet.

In Ontario there is a Court of Appeal for Ontario, with a Chief Justice and three Justices of Appeal; a High Court of Justice, comprising the Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Chancery Division (nine judges); and a Maritime Court.

Quebec has a Court of Queen's Bench, with a Chief Justice and five puisne judges; a Superior Court, with a Chief Justice and twenty-six puisne judges (mainly French); a Vice-Admiralty Court; Recorders' Courts at Quebec and Montreal, Sheriffs' Courts and Courts of Sessions.

Nova Scotia has a Supreme Court with a Chief Justice, Equity Judge, and four assistant judges. The Chief Justice sits in a separate Vice-Admiralty Court. There are also an Attorney-General (in the Cabinet) and seven County Court judges.

In New Brunswick the Supreme Court is made up of a Chief Justice and five puisne judges. The judicial establishment also includes a judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, Advocate-General, Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, and five County Court judges—one of whom presides in the Vice-Admiralty Court.

Prince Edward Island has a Supreme Court, with a Chief Justice who is also judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, a Master of the Rolls, and a Vice-Chancellor. There are also County Court judges and Sheriffs in the three counties of this Province.

In British Columbia and Manitoba there are Chief Justices and puisne judges, with Attorney-Generals who are members of the Executive Councils. The North-West Territories are under the administration of stipendiary magistrates.

Municipal institutions have existed in Canada since 1840.

The control of education is effective in each Education province, though not uniform throughout the and Dominion. In *Ontario* a Minister of Education Religion. regulates the public elementary schools (having about

475,000 scholars) and the secondary schools (about 13,000 scholars). There are local boards of trustees, which carry out the provisions of the Provincial Legislature. The University of Toronto is undenominational, and has three affiliated theological colleges. There are five other University colleges, an agricultural college, many colleges for girls, for the blind and the deaf and dumb, as well as reformatory schools—all under inspection. In *Quebec* there is a Superintendent of Public Instruction, with a Council of thirty-five, divided into Protestant and Roman Catholic committees. The local management is intrusted either to boards or to the curés and churchwardens, the schools (with only 240,000 scholars) being supported by fees and Provincial government grants. There are three universities, one of them being Roman Catholic. In *Nova Scotia* the control is in the hands of the Executive Council, and of local boards of trustees, or of the town councils. Attendance is compulsory between the ages of seven and twelve. In *New Brunswick* the control is of a similar kind. Here education is free between the ages of five and twenty; but the proportionate attendance is considerably below that of Ontario or Nova Scotia. In *Manitoba* there is a system of free, unsectarian and compulsory education between the ages of five and sixteen, and the proportion of scholars to the population is higher than in any other Province. The same system exists in *British Columbia*, where a school district, with a board of three elected trustees, must be formed wherever there are fifteen boys or girls between the ages of six and sixteen. In *Prince Edward Island* education is free, unsectarian, and compulsory between the ages of eight and thirteen. In the *North-West Territories* a school district may be formed, and a board of three trustees elected, in any

area not exceeding 86 square miles, having not fewer than four heads of families, with at least ten children. A board so formed may claim grants in aid and payment by results.

There is no direct endowment of religion in Canada, but the Anglican Church has a strong organization. This includes the metropolitan bishop of Fredericton (New Brunswick), and eighteen other bishops, with 938 clergy. The Roman Catholics have six archbishops, fifteen bishops, and three vicars apostolic. There are also the Presbyterian Church, with a moderator, and the Methodist organization, with a general superintendent.

The Roman Catholics number about 1,800,000, of whom nearly seven-tenths are in Quebec. The Wesleyans come next with 750,000; Presbyterians, 676,000; Anglicans, 575,000.

Heavy customs dues, ranging up to 35 per cent., have been imposed upon a very large number of articles. These produce nearly four millions sterling. The total public revenue, taking an average of the past few years, amounts to about £6,500,000. The public debt is about £58,000,000.

(2) NEWFOUNDLAND.

Newfoundland (capital, St. John's), with which is included the coast of Labrador, is the only portion of British North America which has not entered the Dominion. Area of the island, 40,200 square miles; total population, about 197,500.

It has had a partially responsible government since 1855—a Governor, an Executive Council of seven, a Legislative Council of fifteen, and an elective House of Assembly con-

sisting of thirty-six members. There is a property qualification for members of the House, who are nevertheless paid for their services.

The customs tariff is high, yielding about £180,000. Public revenue, about £1,000,000. Debt, £310,000.

The control of education is in the hands of Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Methodist Superintendents, and of elected local boards. The 480 schools are denominational, and not free; and there are moderate grants in aid of secondary schools.

The Anglican bishop of Newfoundland is under the Archbishop of Canterbury. There are two Roman Catholic bishops.

The chronic public question in Newfoundland is connected with its main industry of fishing, for the protection whereof, especially against France, the islanders look to the British Government. On the cession of the island to Britain in 1713, France reserved certain rights of fishing, mining, resort to harbours and the coast, for bait and drying; and the interpretation of this claim has always been in dispute. France also retained possession of the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, close to the coast, where her fishermen regularly ply their trade. A somewhat acute quarrel was amicably adjusted in 1885 by British and French commissioners, but the settlement was rejected by the Newfoundlanders, who considered that their legitimate interests had not been safeguarded.

AUSTRALASIA.

In the term Australasia are included the five Colonies of the continent of Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Fiji, and New Guinea.

A "Federal Council of Australasia" was established by Imperial Act of Parliament in 1885. New South Wales, New Zealand, and South Australia, have not yet availed themselves of its provisions, but the representatives of Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia, and Fiji, met for the first time in January, 1886, and discussed various matters of common interest. In accordance with the constituting Act, the Council is to meet once at least in every two years—the self-governing Colonies being represented by two members, and the Crown Colonies by one.

The delegated subjects for the consideration of the Council are—

"(a) The relations of Australasia with the islands of the Pacific: (b) Prevention of the influx of criminals: (c) Fisheries in Australasian waters beyond territorial limits: (d) The service of civil process of the courts of any Colony within Her Majesty's possessions in Australasia out of the jurisdiction of the Colony in which it is issued: (e) The enforcement of judgments of courts of law of any Colony beyond the limits of the Colony: (f) The enforcement of criminal process beyond the limits of the colony in which it is issued, and the extradition of offenders (including deserters of wives and children and deserters from the Imperial or Colonial naval or military forces): (g) The custody of offenders on board ships belonging to Her Majesty's Colonial Government beyond territorial limits: (h) Any matter which at the request of the Legislatures of the Colonies Her Majesty by Order in Council shall think fit to refer to the Council: (i) Such of the following matters as may be referred to the Council by the Legislatures of any two or more Colonies; that is to say—general defences, quarantine,

patents of invention and discovery, copyright, bills of exchange and promissory notes, uniformity of weights and measures, recognition in other Colonies of any marriage or divorce duly solemnized or decreed in any Colony, naturalization of aliens, status of corporations and joint stock companies in other Colonies than that in which they have been constituted; and any other matter of general Australasian interest with respect to which the Legislatures of the several Colonies can legislate within their own limits, and as to which it is deemed desirable that there should be a law of general application. Provided that in such cases the Acts of the Council shall extend only to the Colonies by whose Legislatures the matter shall have been so referred to it, and such other Colonies as may afterwards adopt the same.

“Every Bill in respect of the matters marked (a), (b), or (c) shall, unless previously approved by Her Majesty through one of her principal Secretaries of State, be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. The Governors of any two or more of the Colonies may, upon an address of the Legislatures of such Colonies, refer for the consideration and determination of the Council any questions relating to those Colonies, or their relations with one another, and the Council shall thereupon have authority to consider and determine, by Act of Council, the matters so referred to it.”

All Bills passed by this Council are to be presented to the Governor of the Colony in which the Council has been sitting, “who shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject to the provisions of this Act, and to Her Majesty's instructions, either that he assents thereto in Her Majesty's name, or that he withholds such assent, or that he reserves

the Bill for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure, or that he will be prepared to assent thereto subject to certain amendments to be specified by him."

The intention of the Act seems to be that in matters marked (d) to (i) only a constructive and formal assent is necessary, and that the Governor giving or withholding it will do so in general upon the advice of his responsible Council.

Though New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand were not represented at Hobart in 1886, they sent delegates to the London Conference in 1887, where the Australasian representatives unanimously undertook to recommend their Governments to submit for the ratification of their respective Parliaments an agreement relating to the increase of the Australasian squadron for the protection of seaborne commerce. This agreement is for ten years in the first instance, and under its terms five fast cruisers and two torpedo gunboats will be added to the squadron under the command of the Admiral, such vessels to be retained for service within the limits of the Australasian station—the Colonies agreeing to pay for maintenance a sum not exceeding £91,000 per annum, and for depreciation a percentage of 5 per cent. on the initial cost, which, with other incidental charges, is estimated to amount to a further sum not exceeding £35,000 per annum. (See page 106.)

The aggregate public Debt of Australasia is about £160,000,000; and the revenues annually raised by the seven Colonies show a higher average per head of the population than those of any other country.

(3) *NEW SOUTH WALES.*

New South Wales (capital, Sydney) is the oldest settle-

ment in Australia, the first colonists having been established there a hundred years ago (1788). Sydney is about 11,500 miles from London in a direct line, and a little more than 1,000 miles from New Zealand, which it faces. The colony is an excellent instance of the success of British penal settlements; for, though the main work of building up the nations of Australasia has been done by free settlers and their descendants, there is no doubt that the best of the emancipated convicts have played a worthy part in the development of the continent. The first six Governors were captains in the Royal Navy, the next eight were military officers, after whom it became more usual to appoint civilians. Area, 310,000 square miles; population over 1,000,000. Norfolk and Pitcairn Islands, associated on account of the transfer of inhabitants in 1857 from the latter to the former, are under the government of New South Wales.

In 1824 a Government Council of six members was nominated to assist the Governor. In 1843 a partly elective character was possessed by this body, but it was not until the year 1855 that responsible government was given, and the Legislative Council and Assembly were established on something like their present basis. The members of the Council now number 59; they are nominated for life, and not more than one-fifth of them may at the same time hold office under the Crown.

The Electoral Act in 1880 provided for a Legislative Assembly of 122 members, chosen by 72 electoral districts, with an automatic increase in proportion to the increase of the population (about 1 to 8,000). Every natural born or naturalized male subject, on attaining the age of twenty-one, is qualified as a member of the Assembly, or as an

elector, after six months residence in any electoral district. There are also non-residential qualifications—namely, a freehold or leasehold estate worth £100, or £10 annually; or a house of the annual value of £10; or a Crown lease or pastoral license. But no man is entitled to more than one vote of this character. Vote by ballot has been established in New South Wales since 1858.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, and sent out from Great Britain, with a salary of £7,000, and a paid staff. His Executive Council is the Cabinet for the time being, which usually consists of nine members, and which is directly responsible to the representative Chamber.

Present and late members of the Cabinet are styled Honourable.

The Departments of State include departments of Lands, Mines, and Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs, Education and Police.

The Minister of Justice controls a large staff. The administration of the law is in the hands of a Chief Justice and four puisne judges of the Supreme Court, seven District Court judges and chairmen of Quarter Sessions, a Master in Equity, a Prothonotary, Commissioners of intestate and insolvent estates. The Attorney-General (as in most British Colonies) is a member of the Executive Council. In his department there are a Crown Solicitor and seven Crown Prosecutors.

Education in New South Wales is strictly a Education department of the State, under the Minister of and Public Instruction. The teachers are civil Religion. servants, paid by the Treasury, which receives the funds derived from the school fees of 8d. a week. The local management is in the hands of nominated boards, and the

necessary expenditure is provided by the State. There were in 1884 four high schools for each sex, 26 superior public schools, 1,450 ordinary public schools, with 250 rural schools, 117 half-time schools, 40 "house-to-house schools under itinerant teachers,"* and 21 evening schools. The State provides religious instruction, but does not support denominational schools as such. The children in the national schools number about 18 per cent. of the population, and the average cost is about £4 per scholar.

The University of Sydney is also a State institution, and the Parliamentary grant has recently risen as high as £35,000 in one year. There are three affiliated denominational colleges, having small grants from the State; and similar aid is given to a technical college, to 150 schools of arts, and to the Sydney grammar school. Altogether, New South Wales appears to be more liberal in its encouragement of education than any other portion of the empire.

The metropolitan and primate of the Anglican Church in the Province of Australia is the Bishop of Sydney. The clergy number 631. There are five other Anglican bishops in New South Wales; also a Roman Catholic archbishop and four bishops, and a Presbyterian moderator.

The members of the Church of England in New South Wales number about 450,000, Presbyterians 95,000, Methodists 85,000. The Roman Catholics are estimated at nearly 270,000.

Tariff, &c. The import duties were recently increased, in order to counterbalance the diminution of the revenue from the sale of public lands; but they were again relaxed in 1887. About 150 articles are affected by special

* *C. O. List*, 1887.

duties, and there is a residuary tax of 5 per cent. on imported goods. Public revenue, nearly £8,000,000. Debt, about £40,000,000.

(4) **VICTORIA.**

Victoria (capital, Melbourne) on the south of New South Wales, was separated from that Colony in 1851. Melbourne, founded in 1835, is now the most populous city in Australia (about 360,000). Area, 87,884 square miles; population, about 1,050,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution of Victoria dates from 1854. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £10,000, and a paid staff. The Cabinet, usually of 10 members, constitutes his Executive Council. The Legislative Council has 42 members, elected by 14 provinces; and the Legislative Assembly consists of 86 members elected by 55 districts. Members of the Council are elected for six years. They must be owners of freehold property of the value of not less than £100 per annum, the electors being owners of freeholds worth not less than £10 per annum, or occupiers rated at not less than £25. There is no property qualification for members of the Assembly, and the electoral qualification is based on manhood suffrage. At the election in 1886 there were 215,830 electors. The voting for this Chamber is by ballot. Members are paid £300 a year.

The property qualification for the Legislative Council seems to be maintained in order to give this Chamber as much as possible of the character of the British House of Lords—its relations with the Assembly being in many respects copied from those which exist between the two

Houses. The Council, however, may reject a money bill, though it may not amend one. Present and late members of the Councils are styled Honourable.

The country is divided into 123 shires and 60 towns, all of these being locally governed by councils elected by the ratepayers.

By a law passed in 1881, every Chinese immigrant pays a tax of £10.

The administration of justice is controlled by a Minister, (in the Cabinet), and is in the hands of a Chief Justice and five puisne judges, an Attorney-General (in the Cabinet) and a Crown Solicitor. Besides the Supreme Court there are Courts of Assize and General Sessions, a Court of Insolvency, Sheriff's Courts, County Courts and Courts of Mines. There is also a systematic Registrar-General's Department, for the registration of titles, &c., and a body of police magistrates and wardens of mines, who are also coroners.

Education and Religion. National education in Victoria is secular, compulsory, and free, for children between the ages of six and fifteen. The State grants a limited number of exhibitions from the elementary schools to the grammar schools and to the University of Melbourne; and it supports a large staff of inspectors. The national scheme does not extend to secondary schools; but the State grants aid to the university, and to its two affiliated colleges—Trinity and Ormond.

No aid is given to religion. Anglicans number about 355,000, with two bishops; Roman Catholics, 233,000; Presbyterians, 152,000; Methodists, 125,000.

Tariff, &c. The customs duties on imported goods and raw materials are very many and heavy, the Colony adopting a fairly strict policy of protection. The

customs and excise duties realize about £2,500,000, out of the total public revenue of about £6,500,000. Debt, over £30,000,000.

(5) QUEENSLAND.

Queensland* (capital, Brisbane) north of New South Wales, was separated from the latter colony in 1859. It is a partly tropical country, and there is a fairly large aboriginal population, with some thousands of coolie labourers. Area, 668,497 square miles. The European population is estimated at over 300,000. By a law passed in 1884, a poll-tax of £30 is levied on Chinese immigrants. Out of 10,736 European immigrants in 1885, the Queensland Government paid for the passage of 2,004.

Various Land Acts have been passed for the encouragement of settlers, but the “Crown **Land Acts.** Lands Act” of 1884 greatly modifies the previously existing system. Its object is partly to stimulate the actual cultivation of the soil, and partly to assist the revenue. It aims at substituting leases for sales, and preventing the aggregation of large estates; and it is administered by the Minister for Lands with the aid of a Land Board. The State takes power to withdraw portions of leases formerly granted, and to lease grazing farms in areas not exceeding 20,000 acres, nor less than 2560 acres, at a rent of not less than 3s. 4d. per acre. The lease is to be for three years, the holder undertaking to reside on and fence his land. If these conditions are fulfilled, a transferable lease will be granted for thirty years, at a rent to be adjusted every five years. Similar but more favourable arrangements are made for agricultural holdings; and the lessee has the

* See also (11) *New Guinea*.

option of eventual purchase. Thus, in the simplest case, if the lessee of an agricultural farm of not more than 160 acres has resided five years, and can prove an expenditure of not less than 10s. an acre on permanent improvements, he can secure the fee simple by making up the rents already paid to a total of half-a-crown an acre.*

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor of Queensland is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £5,000 and a paid staff. His Executive Council, as in the other Australian Colonies, is the Cabinet of Ministers responsible to the Legislative Assembly.

The Legislative Council, nominated for life by the Governor for the time being, numbers 36. There is no necessary qualification for membership, beyond that which entitles to the electoral vote. The President receives a salary of £1,000, and the Vice-President, with a higher salary, is the Prime Minister who happens to be in power.

The Legislative Assembly, as re-modelled in 1887, consists of 72 members, elected by 60 districts. Elections are conducted by ballot, and the franchise is possessed by male subjects of full age who have resided six months in the same district. Non-residential votes are also allowed to freeholders and leaseholders. The proportion of members to population is about 1 to 5,000.

Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils are styled Honourable.

The Colonial Secretary's Department includes a Registrar-General of Titles, a Commissioner of Police, a Commandant of the Defence Force, the Senior Naval Officer, the Government-Resident of Thursday Island, &c.

* See *C. O. List*, 1887.

The Attorney-General's Department includes the Chief Justice, two puisne judges, four district judges, the Crown Solicitor, Prothonotary, &c.

The control of public education is in the hands of a Secretary and Under-Secretary for Public Instruction, and of local elective School Boards. The number of children on the rolls is approximately one-sixth of the population. Education is free and undenominational. Education
and
Religion.

The chief religious denominations received grants of land in the younger days of the Colony, but no further provision is made for them. The Anglican Church numbers about two-fifths of the population (with two bishops); the Roman Catholics about one quarter.

In addition to about ninety specified duties on imported articles, there is a general *ad valorem* import duty of 5 per cent. The single export duty is one of two shillings on cedar logs. The customs revenue just exceeds a million sterling, which is about 35 per cent. of the total revenue—exclusive of land sales. Debt, over £20,000,000. Tariff, &c.

(6) *SOUTH AUSTRALIA.*

South Australia (capital, Adelaide) was erected into a colony by Act of Parliament in 1834-5, and was settled by a "South Australian Colonization Company." In 1845 the discovery of copper gave an impetus to immigration. The western and northern parts of the present area were added (also by Acts of Parliament) at later dates. The so-called Northern Territory, extending to the shore of the Southern Ocean, is likely hereafter to be constituted a separate State. The central portion is practically a desert,

and the effective control of the two shores, if both were thickly populated, would be a task of considerable difficulty. There is a poll-tax of £30 on Chinese immigrants. Area, 300,000 square miles ; population, about 320,000.

Land Acts. The average ownership or other tenure of land in South Australia is 120 acres for each adult male. It is calculated that about five-sevenths of the cultivable land of the southern colony has been taken up, whilst of the settled provinces about one-fourth has been disposed of by the Government, and nearly one-half is in pastoral occupation. The checks on wholesale alienation adopted in Queensland do not exist here, and there is perhaps a greater and more extensive traffic in land than in any other colony. The Government has therefore seen good to pass a Real Property Act, providing a simple and inexpensive method of dealing in titles to estates.

GOVERNMENT.

A Constitution was granted to South Australia by Act of Parliament in 1856, which has been several times amended. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £5,000 and a paid staff. His Executive Council is the Cabinet for the time being (of six members) together with the Chief Justice.

The Legislative Council originally consisted of eighteen members, but the number has since been increased to twenty-four. Beginning with the year 1888, the old members will be replaced by the retirement of eight every three years. The Colony being divided into four electoral districts, each district is to elect two members. Candidates must have resided in the colony for three years, and have attained the age of thirty. The electoral qualification for

the Council is that a voter must be a male subject of full age, who has been on the register for six months, who occupies a house of the annual rent of £25, or possesses a freehold of £50 value, or a leasehold at £20 with three years to run, or with the right of purchase. These conditions are satisfied by about 39 per cent. of the adult male population. Elections are conducted by ballot.

The Legislative Assembly is elected triennially by twenty-six constituencies, each returning two members. The qualification for members and electors is the same—they must be male subjects of full age, who have been six months on the register. Elections are by ballot.

Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils are styled Honourable.

The Chief Justice is assisted in the Supreme Court by two puisne judges; he is also judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court. These judges form five Assize Courts in different parts of the country. There are also Civil Courts outside Adelaide, and an Insolvency Court, all presided over by stipendiaries, in addition to the Police Courts. The Land Courts, which are numerous, are also presided over by stipendiaries.

The Minister of Education is a member of the Education Cabinet, and the State grants about £80,000 a year, with sites and buildings, in support of the Religion. national schools. Education is compulsory within certain limits, and undenominational. There is a small fee, which may be remitted if necessary. To the University of Adelaide the Government has made a grant of public land, and Parliament annually votes a sum equal to 5 per cent. on the independent income of the university.

The Anglican Church (with one bishop) numbers nearly

30 per cent. of the population ; the Roman Catholics and Methodists about 15 per cent. each.

About ninety articles are subject to specified **Tariff, &c.** customs duties on introduction into the Colony ; and an *ad valorem* import duty of 15 per cent. is levied on about twice the number. There is a fairly extensive free list ; and all articles outside these three categories are subject to a duty of 10 per cent. . The customs revenue is about £580,000, which is more than one-fourth of the whole public revenue. Debt, about £20,000,000. There is also an accumulated deficit from previous years, which is being liquidated by Treasury Bills, to be redeemed by the future sales of land set apart for that purpose.

(7) WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

Western Australia (capital, Perth) was founded by colonization from New South Wales in 1829. Considerable grants of land were made to the first settlers ; and in 1850 the inhabitants, with the experience of the older Colony before their eyes, petitioned the British Government to be made a penal settlement. After eighteen years the supply of convicts was cut off. The present population is under forty thousand, but the Colony appears to have entered on a phase of rapid development. Area, 1,060,000 square miles.

About 2,750 square miles of land have been granted or sold, and about nine times as much is in pastoral occupation.

GOVERNMENT.

The government of Western Australia is partially representative, but not yet "responsible." The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £3,000, and a

paid staff. His Executive Council includes six of the chief officials of the Colony, together with two unofficial members.

The Legislative Council includes the Executive Council, four nominated members, and sixteen elected. The qualification for elected members is the possession of an unencumbered estate of £1,000 value; and the electors are freeholders of £100, householders of £10 annual value, and lessees of crown lands at a rent of not less than £10.

The judicial organization of the Colony is fairly advanced. In addition to a Chief Justice, a puisne judge, the Attorney-General and Crown Solicitor, the several districts have their magistrates, sitting in ordinary and quarter sessions, with efficient police, medical, sanitary, and other arrangements.

As in the other Australian colonies, education is systematic, and subsidized by the State. Education and Religion. There is a central committee, and the local control is under district boards. Attendance is compulsory, and the schools are undenominational; but the Government assists the schools of the various denominations.

Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops are settled at Perth, being supported by their own denominations.

About fifty articles are subject to special duties; about thirty are liable to an *ad valorem* duty of Tariff, &c. 10 per cent.; sixty or seventy to 5 per cent.; about a hundred are free; and all other goods pay a duty of 12½ per cent. The customs revenue in 1885 was £134,116; the total revenue, £323,213. Debt, about £1,500,000.

(8) TASMANIA.

Tasmania (capital, Hobart), an island about 120 miles from Victoria, was used as a penal settlement from 1803 to

1850. The first immigrants landed in 1816. Its area, with that of the fifty-five neighbouring small islands, amounts to about 16,750,000 acres, of which about four and a half millions have been granted or sold (at about £1 per acre), and over a million and a quarter leased. Population, about 120,000.

GOVERNMENT.

Tasmania established its own Parliamentary Constitution in 1854. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £5,000, and a paid staff. His Executive Council consists of the responsible Cabinet of four Ministers.

The Legislative Council includes eighteen members, elected by fifteen districts for six years. Members must be male subjects not less than thirty years of age. The electors are male subjects of full age, holding a freehold of £20, or a leasehold of £80 annual value, and barristers, officers of the army or navy, ministers of religion, and graduates of some university.

The House of Assembly has thirty-six members, elected by twenty-eight districts for five years. The electors are male subjects, being owners or occupiers of land or house, or having an income of £60, who have been on the register for six months. The elections are held by ballot.

Members of the Councils are styled Honourable.

Municipal institutions exist throughout the island, together with a complete system of stipendiary magistracies.

Education Education in Tasmania is a department of the State, and the system is compulsory and undenominational, with remission of fees when necessary. The average attendance, however, is only about

7,500 out of a total population of something like 125,000 ; but there are numerous private schools.

The Anglican Church (one bishop) numbers about 70,000 ; the Roman Catholics about 27,000.

There is a very elaborate scale of customs duties, ranging from 5 to 20 per cent. *ad* ^{Tariff, &c.} *valorem*. The revenue from this source is about £300,000—nearly one-half of the total income of the State. Debt, about £3,500,000.

(9) NEW ZEALAND.

The New Zealand group of islands (capital, Wellington) were erected into a colony in 1840, after the Maori chiefs at Waitangi had ceded them to Great Britain. There was a renewal of war with the natives in the first and third decades following that date, but peace has not been broken since 1870.

The Maoris occupy their own reservations, mainly in the northern island. Though grazing and agriculture are carried on with much success, the land under cultivation does not exceed a million and a quarter acres, and the grass lands five millions and a half. About three-elevenths of the total acreage of the islands has been alienated from the Crown. The colony is rapidly assuming more of the character of a mining and manufacturing country. Area, 104,000 square miles ; population, about 640,000, of whom the Maoris number 41,000.

GOVERNMENT.

New Zealand was originally a Crown Colony. In 1852 a quasi-federal Constitution was granted by imperial Act of Parliament, under which (as amended) the country was

divided into the provinces of Auckland, Canterbury, Hawkes Bay, Marlborough, Nelson, Otago, Taranaki, Wellington, and Westland, each of these having a provincial Council, elected by household suffrage amongst the settlers. There was also established a General Assembly, sitting at Auckland—afterwards at Wellington—and consisting of a Legislative Council and House of Representatives.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £5,000, and a paid staff, his Executive Council being the responsible Cabinet of seven.

The Legislative Council is not, as in some of the greater continental States of Australia, representative; the fifty-four members being appointed by the Governor for life. Three of these at the present time are Maoris.

The House of Representatives, elected every three years on a household suffrage, numbers ninety-five, including four Maori members. Possessors of freehold estates of the value of £25 are qualified as electors, without the six months' residence otherwise required. There is no distinction between the European and Maori qualifications, and the proportion of native voters at the last elections fell little short of the proportion of European voters; but the allowance of members to population is not so large in the case of the Maoris.

The members of the two Councils are styled Honourable.

Up to 1863 the relations between settlers and natives were under the control of the Home Government. In that year, during the progress of the ten years' war, the responsibility was thrown upon the Wellington Government, with an ultimately beneficial result.

The system of provincial Councils was abolished by local Act in 1875; and the whole Colony is now divided,

for purposes of local government, into seventy-one counties and seventy-two municipalities.

New Zealand is distinguished by the large number of public works carried on either by private enterprise or by State grants, in order to develop the residential advantages of the colony. This has been especially true since the adoption, in 1870, of what was known as the "Public Works Policy," whereby the Government and the people resolved to look ahead of the actual demands made by settled immigrants, and to provide in advance for future immigration.

The Chief Justice is assisted in the Supreme Court by four puisne judges. There are five District Court judges, and thirty-seven resident District magistrates. The Attorney-General is a political officer, and this functionary has more than once of late held the post of Premier.

The educational system in New Zealand is Education very similar to that adopted in Great Britain, and Religion. with a Minister of Education, school boards, and subordinate committees; the education is compulsory and undenominational, and it is also free. The State expends annually a sum of about £480,000, supporting or subsidizing over one thousand elementary schools, seven industrial schools, a deaf and dumb school, twenty-three secondary schools, four normal schools, three university colleges, and the University of New Zealand. In addition to these, there are seventy-two schools for natives.

The ecclesiastical province of New Zealand includes seven bishops, of whom the Bishop of Christchurch is metropolitan. There are over 240 clergy. Forty-one per cent. of the population belong to this church; 23 per cent. are Presbyterians, and 14 per cent. Roman Catholics.

About a hundred and thirty articles are subject to special customs duties, and a still larger number are charged with *ad valorem* duties of from 15 to 25 per cent. The customs revenue in 1885 was £1,422,000—about 40 per cent. of the total public revenue of the colony. Debt, over £40,000,000.

(10) FIJI.

The Fiji Islands (capital, Suva) are a tropical group, over two hundred in number, distant about 1,200 miles north-east from Brisbane, and about 1,100 miles due north of New Zealand. New Caledonia and the New Hebrides are in direct line between these islands and the continent of Australia. Not more than eighty of the islands are inhabited, the largest of them being Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. The area of the whole group is about equal to that of Yorkshire and Lancashire combined. The total population may be put at 125,000, of whom about 3,500 are Europeans. The island of Rotumah, and the group lying between 175° and 177° E., and between 12° and 15° S., were placed under the same government, with a separate Commissioner, in 1880, by letters patent of the Crown.

GOVERNMENT.

The Fiji Group was offered to Great Britain by the native chiefs in 1859, but was not formally taken over until 1874, when Sir Hercules Robinson negotiated the transfer. The Constitution, which to a great extent recognized the previous government of the natives and European settlers, was established by royal charter as follows :—

The Colony includes fourteen provinces, each of these

being divided into districts. The native head-men of the districts meet in their several provincial councils, and the native chiefs of the provinces meet annually under the presidency of the Governor. The resolutions of the latter body are referred for consideration and confirmation to the Legislative Council, which includes eleven nominated European members, six of them being officials. The Governor, who is also High Commissioner for the Western Pacific (*see* § 40), with a salary of £4,000, and a paid staff, is nominated by the Crown, and is assisted by an Executive Council, virtually identical with the official members of the Legislative Council.

The districts again have their separate councils, and so have the principal villages in each, so that the local self-government of the native population is fairly complete. The taxation is paid for the most part in kind (sugar, cotton, coffee, tea, maize, fruit, and copra), the produce being valued at the time of the yearly assessment.

The Provincial Department is presided over by a Commissioner for Native Affairs, who controls a large number of native administrators for the provinces and districts.

The Chief Justice, who is at the same time Judicial Commissioner for the Western Pacific, is assisted by District Commissioners, Registrars, and Stipendiary Magistrates.

Ample provision is made for public education, power even being given for the election of school boards and the earning of grants. There are schools under this system at Suva and Levuka, on the island of Ovalau, which accommodate over 250 scholars; but the education of the natives is in the hands of Wesleyan and Roman Catholic missionaries.

Tariff, &c. There is an exhaustive customs tariff, yielding over £32,000, which is about two-fifths of the public revenue, or one-tenth of the total value of imports.

(11) NEW GUINEA.

The south-eastern portion of New Guinea, 150 miles from Queensland, across Torres Strait, was taken under the protectorate of Great Britain in 1884, at the pressing instance of the Queensland Government. The Australasian colonies undertook to contribute an annual sum of £15,000 towards the expenses of administration, and Sir Peter Scratchley was appointed Special Commissioner. Sir Peter died soon afterwards, and the Colonies have made complaint that too little was being done in the annexed district, in comparison with the efforts of the Germans and Dutch in adjoining parts of the island. The Queensland Government then offered to undertake the administration, and to defray the whole of the expenses, if the British Government would, in the first place, make an effective establishment of the Queen's sovereignty. This has since been done; and a Bill to regulate the provisional government of the new acquisition was passed by the Queensland Assembly in 1887, providing for an expenditure of £15,000 a year during the next ten years. British New Guinea is now subject to the British Settlements Act (page 103), and is placed under the control of an Administrator, responsible to the Governor of Queensland.

(12) JAMAICA.

Jamaica (capital, Kingston) is 700 miles east of Honduras, and about 70 miles south of Cuba. The Cayman Isles, on the western side, are associated with it in govern-

ment. Jamaica was taken from Spain in 1665, and the plantations were worked by slave labour until 1833, when over 300,000 slaves were emancipated. Area, 4,193 square miles; population, about 610,000, of whom more than two-thirds are negro, and about one-fortieth pure white.

GOVERNMENT.

From 1660 to 1866 the island was ruled by a Governor, Privy Council, Legislative Council, and elective Assembly. In 1866, after the insurrection of the emancipated negroes and half-castes, and its suppression, the old Constitution was suspended, and Jamaica was reduced to the grade of a Crown Colony.

The Governor-in-chief is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £6,000 and a paid staff. He has a Privy Council, consisting at present of the senior officer in command of the troops, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Director of Public Works; and the Legislative Council includes, in addition to these, five other nominated members and nine elected members. A greater personal authority is given to the Governor, independently of his Councils, than is usual in Crown Colonies. The Legislative Council is elected for five years on a restricted franchise.

For the purposes of representation and local government the island is divided into fourteen provinces, called parishes, which are administered by parochial boards, elected by the owners and occupiers entitled to vote for Legislative Councillors. The taxation of each parish is appropriated to the service of the parish. There is a complete system of unpaid magistracies, on the English model, with district courts, and a High Court of Justice. The police are mostly mounted, and are under a quasi-military organization.

Education. Small grants in aid are made to private schools, which are inspected by the Government. There are two public training colleges, but no established system of education.

Jamaica is the see of an Anglican bishop, in the ecclesiastical province of the West Indies.

Tariff, &c. There is a high customs tariff, with a residuary charge of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., tempered by a fairly long list of exemptions; also export duties on sugar, rum, coffee, logwood, and other woods. The customs and excise revenue approaches £300,000, being nearly half the public revenue. Debt, about £1,260,000.

(13) BRITISH HONDURAS.

British Honduras (capital, Belize) is a coast district in Central America, having Yucatan (Republic of Mexico) on the north, and the Republic of Guatemala on the west and south. Area, 7,562 square miles; population, 27,500.

GOVERNMENT.

The Colony was founded by settlers, chiefly Spanish and British from Jamaica, who established an export trade in mahogany, logwood, &c. The first government was by public meeting and annually elected magistrates—representing the legislative and executive elements respectively. The resolutions of the former and the administration of the latter ripened into the laws and institutions of the present day. They were codified and published by Sir William Burnaby in 1756, and were thereafter known as “Burnaby’s Laws.” (*C. O. List*, 1887.)

Belize and the neighbouring districts were long looked upon in Britain as a sub-colony of Jamaica, and British

vessels aided the settlement in resisting the attempts of Spain to establish her dominion there. From 1797 a British Superintendent was regularly appointed, and from 1862 a Lieutenant-Governor under the Governor-in-chief of Jamaica. In 1839 an Executive Council was set up, and in 1853 was convened the first Legislative Assembly, with eighteen elected and three nominated members. Owing, possibly, to the greater wealth and changed conditions of the colony, the representative Assembly was abolished in 1870, and in its place a Legislative Council was established, consisting of official and unofficial nominated members. In 1884, British Honduras was made a Government-in-chief. The Governor's salary is £1,800. The six Districts are under the charge of District Magistrates.

The Government aids the existing schools by an annual grant of about £2,000. The schools are denominational, but are subject to Government inspection. Education.

The customs and excise duties, varying up to 15 per cent., produce about half the public revenue, which amounts to something over £50,000. There is a debt of about £20,000. Tariff, &c.

(14) *TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS.*

The Turks Islands are on the north of Hayti, about 420 miles north-east of Jamaica, with the government whereof they have been associated since 1874. They were previously associated with the Bahamas, and were then for a time under an independent government. Their small size and modest trade may account for these alternations of political fortune. With them are grouped the Caicos Islands, surrounding the large Caicos sandbank. The

combined area of the group is 169 square miles ; population, 4,732, whereof more than half live on the Grand Turk.

They are governed by a Chief Commissioner, the Judge and Registrar of the Supreme Court, and from two to four nominees of the Governor of Jamaica. Laws for the group are from time to time passed by the Legislative Council of Jamaica.

The Government supports the schools, which are undenominational, free, and compulsory.

The customs revenue is over £5,000, and the public revenue about £10,000. There is no debt.

(15) BRITISH GUIANA.

British Guiana (capital, Georgetown) is on the north-eastern coast of South America, and includes most of the watershed of the Essequibo. It is bounded on the west by the Republic of Venezuela, on the south by the Empire of Brazil, and on the east by the Dutch colony of Guiana. The western boundary is in dispute with Venezuela. Area, about 110,000 square miles ; population, about 275,000, whereof the aboriginal Indians number about 7,500, the imported East Indians amount to nearly 100,000, the Chinese to 3,500 and the negroes to about 4,500. The rest are natives of mixed blood, Europeans, and West Indians.

Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were taken from the Dutch in 1803, and confirmed to Great Britain in 1814. They were united in one colony in 1831 ; and this colony is now governed by a Governor, a Court of Policy, and a Combined Court.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £5,000. The Court of Policy includes five official members (the Governor being one) and five nominated by a

College of Electors—the College naming two on each occasion of a vacancy, from whom the Court of Policy selects one. The College of Electors consists of seven members, of whom the county of Demerara elects one, the city of Georgetown two, the county of Essequibo two, the county of Berbice one, and the town of New Amsterdam one—each of these elections being for life. The same constituencies elect six financial representatives for terms of two years, who, together with the Court of Policy, make up the Combined Court. The functions of the last-named Court are exclusively financial. The registered electors do not greatly exceed 1,300.

This cumbrous form of government is in part a relic of the Dutch period, as also is the modified form of the Roman civil law. The English criminal law, however, has been introduced. There is a Chief Justice and judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, a puisne judge, Attorney and Solicitor-General, and numerous stipendiary magistrates.

The schools, both denominational and unde- Education
 nominational, are aided by the Government, and
 which grants about £16,000 annually for this Religion.
 purpose. There is also a Government inspector, and a State-aided college in Georgetown.

The religious denominations are well supported by the State. The Bishop of Guiana is metropolitan of the Anglican province of the West Indies, including seven bishops and 258 clergy. There is also a Roman Catholic bishop, and establishments of the Church of Scotland and the Wesleyans.

The customs and excise revenue amounts to Tariff, &c.
 about £275,000, which is considerably more
 than half of the public revenue. Debt, over £200,000.

(16) THE BAHAMAS.

The Bahamas (capital, Nassau) are a group of islands about 70 miles off the east coast of the State of Florida, and north of Cuba, mainly colonized by the British. About twenty are inhabited. Area, 4,466 square miles ; population, nearly 50,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor, appointed by the Crown, has a salary of £2,000. He is assisted by an Executive Council of four *ex-officio* members, who must have seats in the Legislative Council or Assembly. The Legislative Council is composed of nine members nominated by the Crown. The Representative Assembly has twenty-nine members, who must possess an estate of the value of £200. Electors must be of full age, possessed of land to the value of £5, or living in a house rented at £2 8s. in New Providence Island, or at half that sum in one of the other islands.

There is a large judicial establishment, with resident justices on the various islands, itinerary judges, and an organized police force.

Education The Government schools are free and undenominational, with a compulsory clause for **Religion**. Nassau. There is about an equal number of Church of England schools, under the control of the Bishop of Nassau and his clergy. The Legislature has passed an Act to withdraw State aid to religion. The Bishop of Nassau is in the Anglican province of the West Indies.

Tariff, &c. The customs revenue, varying up to 20 per cent., produces a considerable part of the public revenue of £46,000. Debt, about £83,000.

(17) TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.

The island of Trinidad (capital, Port of Spain) is opposite the coast of Venezuela and the mouths of the Orinoco. It was ceded to Great Britain in 1802, having before that been partly occupied by Spanish and French settlers. Area, 1,754 square miles ; population, about 155,000.

GOVERNMENT.

Trinidad is a Crown colony depending directly upon the Crown, which nominates the Governor and the Legislative Council. The Governor has a salary of £4,000. The Executive Council has three *ex-officio* members, and the Legislative Council consists of six official and eight non-official members.

There is a strong judicial establishment, including eight county stipendiary justices, with district clerks of the peace. Local affairs are under the control of wardens and assistant wardens.

Tobago was transferred from the administration of the Windward Islands by imperial Act of Parliament in 1887—“an Act to enable Her Majesty, by Order in Council, to unite the colonies of Trinidad and Tobago into one Colony.”

Government education is unsectarian, and the Education school fees are very low. The Royal College at and Port of Spain, the Model Schools, and the Religion. Training College are all partly supported by Government, which also assists the denominational schools of the island (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, &c.). Support is being gradually withdrawn from the Church establishment. In Tobago the Wesleyans are a strong community.

The see of Trinidad is in the Anglican province of the West Indies.

The import and export duties produce a **Tariff, &c.** revenue of about £155,000, out of a public revenue of about £425,000. The debt is £580,000, incurred for the construction of railways and waterworks. A variable annual expenditure is incurred for the importation of coolies from India, which is under the charge of a Government department.

(18) BARBADOS.

The island of Barbados (capital, Bridgetown) is situated east of the Windward Islands. It has always been in British hands, having been first settled in the reign of Charles I. Area, 166 square miles; population, about 175,000, of whom the great majority are negroes and half-castes.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £8,000. The Crown nominates the Councils and all public officials. There is an Executive Committee distinct from the usual Executive Council in Crown Colonies; it includes the Governor, his Council, one member of the Legislative Council, and four members of the House of Assembly, nominated partly by the Crown direct, and partly by the Governor. The functions of the Committee are to initiate Government measures, and to introduce financial votes in the Assembly. The Legislative Council has nine members appointed by the Crown.

The House of Assembly consists of twenty-four members, elected annually by about 4,200 electors, under a franchise extension Act of 1884.

There is a large judicial establishment, with police magistrates throughout the island, and a fairly numerous police force.

Government spends annually a sum not exceeding £15,000 in support of education, which is administered by a central Education Board and Religion. and School Committees. The State also grants aid to Codrington College (privately endowed), to Harrison College, and the Lodge School, all of which have valuable scholarships. Codrington College is affiliated to Durham University, and is administered by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

The State expends over £11,600 annually in the endowment of religion, including all denominations. The see of Barbados is in the Anglican province of the West Indies.

The import duties yield over £85,000 a year, out of a total public revenue of about £150,000. Debt, £15,700. *Tariff, &c.*

(19) *WINDWARD ISLANDS.*

The Windward Islands (capital, St. George's, Grenada) form the southern group of the West Indian chain (Lesser Antilles), which stretches from Tobago to the east of Hayti. They are Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, with Bequia and the Grenadines. Area, 615 square miles; population, about 145,000, whereof a large proportion are negroes and Indian coolies.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor-in-chief is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £2,500, and each of the three principal islands has an Administrator under him. There is no common

Council, but a joint Court of Appeal has been established, with three chief justices.

In Grenada a Legislative Assembly of eight elected and nine nominated members was established in 1875. Its first and only Act was to decree its own abolition, and to petition the Queen for a new form of government. A Legislative Council was then appointed, by the St. Vincent, Tobago, and Grenada Constitution Act of 1876, with six official and seven unofficial nominated members. Tobago is now attached to Trinidad. There is an adequate judicial establishment.

St. Lucia has an Executive Council of four, with a Legislative Council similar to that of Grenada. The civil law is based upon that previously established in the island by the French, as codified in 1879, but the criminal law has been assimilated to that of England.

St. Vincent has an Executive Council of four, with a Legislative Council of eight members.

Education Education generally in the Windward Islands and is under Government inspection, and is aided by **Religion** grants. Two elementary schools in Grenada are entirely under Government control. As a result of the former French occupation of Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, the Roman Catholics are very numerous, and they have strong church establishments.

Tariff, Revenue, and Debt:—

	Customs.		Public Revenue.		Debt.
Grenada ...	£20,087	...	£41,894	...	£4,000
St. Lucia ...	10,114	...	88,498	...	26,450
St. Vincent ...	15,880	...	28,857	...	1,520
<hr/>					
Windward Is. (1885)	£45,481		£104,244		£81,970

(20) LEEWARD ISLANDS.

The Leeward Islands (capital, St. John, Antigua) form the northern group of the Lesser Antilles. They are Antigua, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Kitts with Nevis and Anguilla, the Virgin Islands, and several others of minor importance. In the same chain are Martinique and Guadeloupe, belonging to France, and small islands belonging to Denmark and Holland.

Area of the Leeward Islands, about 700 square miles ; population, 116,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The present Constitution of these islands rests upon an imperial Act of Parliament passed in 1871, with modifications introduced by the Legislative Council of the group. The five Presidencies, as named above, have Councils of their own, with reserved legislative powers on matters relating to their respective institutions and Constitution. The central Council, however, which is appointed for three years, and meets annually, has an overriding power on all subjects of common interest.

The Governor-in-chief is nominated by the Crown, with a salary of £3,000 and a paid staff. His Executive Council includes the Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General, Presidents of the five colonies (or some of them), and the President of the Legislative Council. The General Legislative Council includes five official members and five non-official, nominated by the Crown, of whom one at least must come from each of the Councils of the several colonies, and ten elected members, returned in the following manner—four by the Council of Antigua, four by that of St. Kitts and Nevis, and two by that of Dominica.

The public expenditure of the combined Colony is borne in the proportion of five-sixteenths by Antigua, three sixteenths by Dominica, one-sixteenth by Montserrat, one-sixteenth by the Virgin Islands, and six-sixteenths by St. Kitts and Nevis. The Auditor-General is an *ex-officio* member of the Executive Council of each colony.

Antigua has a Legislative Council of twenty-four members—four official, eight nominated by the Crown, and ten elected on an elaborate property qualification, which enfranchises 208 voters out of a population of 35,000—whereof 1,800 are whites.

Montserrat (population, 1,100) has a nominated Executive Council of eight, and a nominated Legislative Council of six.

St. Kitts and Nevis, with Anguilla and other smaller islands (formed into one Colony in 1882—population, 44,000) have an Executive Council of twelve and a Legislative Council of twenty—both nominated.

The Virgin Islands (Tortola, Gorda, Anegada, and all the rest of the group except three which belong to Denmark) have an Executive Council of six and a Legislative Council of five. Population, about 5,000.

Dominica has an Executive Council of seven, and a Legislative Assembly of seven nominated and seven elected members. There is a moderate electoral qualification. Population, about 22,200.

Education Education throughout the Leeward Islands and is denominational, mainly conducted by Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, and Moravians. The general Government grants aid to efficient schools on condition that they are open to all comers on payment of a fee. There are higher grade schools, also

aided, in St. John and Basseterre (St. Kitts). The Bishop of Antigua and his coadjutor are included in the Anglican province of the West Indies.

Tariff, Revenue, and Debt :—

	Customs.	Public Revenue.	Debt.
Antigua... ..	£28,866	£41,957	£15,871
Montserrat ...	2,884	5,546	4,200
St. Kitts ...	22,575	41,248	1,200
Nevis ...			none.
Anguilla, &c. ...			none.
Virgin Is. ...	1,061	1,758	none.
Dominica ...	7,255	15,841	18,400
<hr/>			
Leeward Is. (1885)	£68,141	£106,840	£84,171 .

(21) BERMUDA.

The Bermuda Islands (capital, Hamilton) are a group of rocks and reefs—including a dockyard and naval station—of which some fifteen are inhabited, lying in the Atlantic, 2,900 miles from Liverpool, and 580 from Cape Hatteras, United States. Area, about 18 square miles; population, about 15,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £2,200, made up to £2,946. He is assisted by a Privy Council of nine, nominated by the Crown, which also performs the functions of a Legislative Council. The members are mainly official.

The House of Assembly has thirty-six members, elected by nine parishes, each returning four. The electoral qualification is the possession of property valued at not less than £60, which enfranchises about 980 voters.

Education There is a central board of education, assisted
and by local boards. Attendance at school is com-
Religion. pulsory, and grants are made to efficient schools
 which charge their own fees. Ecclesiastically Bermuda is
 attached to the bishopric of Newfoundland. The Roman
 Catholics, Wesleyans, and Presbyterians, are also well
 represented.

Tariff, &c. The income from customs duties is about
 £23,500, out of a total public revenue of about
 £29,000. The debt is about £15,250.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The northern boundary of the British Dependencies in South Africa is as follows:—(1) the Orange River, on the other side of which is the German dependency of Great Namaqualand, from the Atlantic coast to the 20th meridian East; (2) the 22nd parallel of south latitude, from German territory to the Transvaal Republic; (3) the Orange Free State; (4) Transvaal.

These may be regarded as the distinct boundaries of the country under British rule, although the districts between the Cape Colony and Natal, and those north of the Orange River, are recent acquisitions, and still far from being organized. Of the eastern districts, Transkei and Tembuland were annexed to the Cape Colony between 1876 and '86, and Griqualand in 1880. The protectorate of Pondoland is still formally independent. The whole of Zululand excepting the new Boer Republic was annexed by Great Britain on May 19, 1887.

GOVERNMENT.

In default of a more complete organization, the Govern-

ment of South Africa is somewhat complicated. The Governor of the Cape Colony is at the same time Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, and as such he governs Basutoland and British Bechuanaland, having under him a Resident Commissioner in the first country, and an Administrator in the second.

Similarly, the Governor of Natal is at the same time Governor of the whole of Zululand not absorbed in the new Boer Republic.

The Anglican ecclesiastical province of South Africa, with the Bishop of Capetown for its metropolitan, includes eight bishops (one at Ascension, another at Pretoria) and 245 clergy.

In 1877 an imperial Act of Parliament was passed "for the union under one Government of such of the South African Colonies and States as may agree thereto, and for the government of such Union, and for purposes connected therewith." Internal troubles have hitherto stood in the way of the contemplated Confederation.

(22) THE CAPE COLONY

(With Basutoland and British Bechuanaland).

Capital, Capetown. Area, 409,000 square miles; of which Basutoland 10,290, and British Bechuanaland 185,000. Population, 1,500,000; of which Basutoland has about 130,000, and Bechuanaland 35,000. The Europeans number about 300,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £6,000, and £1,000 additional as High Commissioner. He has also a paid staff, including two Secretaries and aides-de-camp.

A Constitution, with partially representative Government, was granted in 1853, and a franchise was created irrespective of race distinctions. Comparatively few natives are on the register by virtue of individual qualification, but the number enfranchised by communal occupation sufficed to influence the elections in about 14 constituencies. A Parliamentary Registration Act passed in 1887 partially withdrew the latter franchise. .

The Colony has been under responsible government since the year 1872. The particular form of this responsible government differs from the forms adopted in other colonies having similar constitutions in that the Cabinet of Ministers responsible to and removable by Parliament sit not only in the House to which they were elected, but also in a permanent Executive Council, whose members are appointed by the Crown. Their responsibility is of course diminished to that extent, since the Council itself is not responsible to the representatives.

The Executive is in the nature of a Privy Council. It has thirty nominated members, mostly late and present Ministers, and is presided over by the Governor.

The Legislative Council is elected every seven years by eight electoral provinces, seven of them returning three members, and the eighth (Griqualand) returning one. The Chief Justice is *ex-officio* President. There is a high qualification for candidates, who must be possessed of immovable property to the value of £2,000, or movable property to the value of £4,000. The electoral qualification is a freehold occupation, or the receipt of earnings to the value of not less than £50 a year. The number thus enfranchised is about 87,000.

The members of the Executive and Legislative Councils are styled Honourable.

The House of Assembly contains seventy-four members elected for five years, by thirty-six constituencies—Cape Town and Kimberley returning four each, Fort Beaufort and Swellendam one each, and the remainder two each. There is no qualification for members (though office-holders are disqualified), and the electorate is the same as for the Legislative Council. Debates may be carried on either in English or in Dutch. The Speaker receives £1,000 a year, and he is assisted by a Clerk of the House and a Sergeant-at-arms.

The Cabinet includes the Attorney-General, the Colonial Secretary (these two belonging to the Colonial Secretary's Office), the Treasurer of the Colony, the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, and the Secretary for Native Affairs.

The Departments of the Post Office, Education, Defence, Customs, Ports, Forests, Mines, &c., have permanent heads, who are precluded from sitting in Parliament.

There is an excellent system of Local Government throughout the Colony. The country is mapped out in sixty-five Divisions, each of which has its Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, receiving on an average £500 a year, with one or more paid clerks. The Commissioners preside over triennially elective Councils of eight members; the candidates being owners of property in the Division valued at not less than £500, and the voters being the same as for Parliamentary elections. The Councils have a large jurisdiction (excluding school affairs and Crown lands); they have borrowing powers for public works on the security of the rates, and they derive a revenue adequate for their purposes from tolls, road rates, and pound sales. Local licenses and the control of the police are included in their duties.

Seventy-seven towns in the Cape Colony are under municipal government, having Mayors and Councils elected annually by the ratepayers. They also have borrowing powers for public works, on the security of the rates.

Within the Divisions there are forty-six village Management Boards, elected by the Parliamentary voters, with minor powers similar to those of the Municipalities, and being under the financial control of the Divisional Councils.

Under the Department for Native Affairs there are separate Divisions, with superintendents and inspectors. The Territories of Transkei, Griqualand East, and Tembuland, are presided over by Chief Magistrates, subordinate to whom are sundry resident magistrates with their staffs. Port St. John's has recently been included, for Parliamentary and other purposes, in Griqualand East; whilst Tembuland embraces Emigrant Tembuland, Galekaland, and Bomvanaland.

The Judicial Administration of the country, reorganized in 1882, is in the hands of the Chief Justice and eight puisne judges. Two of the latter are specially attached to the Supreme Court, three to the High Court of Griqualand, and three to the Eastern Districts Court. There is also a Special Court of three judges under the Diamond Trade Act, holding sessions at Kimberley.

The civil law, as in other colonies which have passed through Dutch hands, is based on the Dutch version of the Roman law, though this has been considerably modified by local statutes. The criminal law and procedure are largely shaped on the English model.

Education and Religion.	The Government makes large grants in aid of education in every stage. The number of assisted schools is about one thousand. The
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sum raised by fees and voluntary effort averages about £100 per school, and the Government grant is not much less than this. All aided schools are under inspection by the Education Department. Education is not compulsory, and the percentage of the white population able to read and write is somewhat low.

Industrial training is provided, especially for boys and girls of the aboriginal population, of whom nearly fifty thousand attend school. The Government also makes liberal grants to the higher schools, and to the Cape University, which is an examining body, and has no organization for teaching.

Religion was at one time largely supported by the State ; but in 1875 an Act was passed for a gradual disendowment, life-interests being respected. The annual charge is now about £9,000. A large majority of the population belong to the Dutch Reformed Church ; but other forms of religion are well represented. The metropolitan of the Anglican Church is the Bishop of Capetown. Other sees are those of Grahamstown and St John's.

The import duties vary from 10 to 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. The revenue from customs and harbour dues is about £1,100,000, out of a total revenue of some £3,820,000. The land revenue accounts for about £195,000. The State debt approaches £21,000,000, and the debts of corporate bodies exceed a million and a quarter.

GOVERNMENT OF BASUTOLAND.

The High Commissioner issues his regulations for the government of Basutoland, in the form of proclamations, which are carried into effect by the Resident Commissioner (who has a salary of £1,200). This plan has only been in

operation since the dis-annexation of the country from the Cape Colony in 1884, so that there has not been time to test its effect in maintaining peace and contentment amongst the Basutos. A great majority of the people have accepted British rule, and consented to the payment of a hut-tax. The chiefs are required to arrange disputes amongst the natives ; but disputes between Europeans and natives are tried by magistrates appointed under the Crown. There is a police force under the control of the Commissioner.

GOVERNMENT OF BECHUANALAND.

Since the assumption of sovereignty over British Bechuanaland in September, 1885, the local control has been in the hands of an Administrator, who receives the proclamations of the High Commissioner. He has a salary of £1,800, and is assisted by a mounted police force of 500 men. There are also Commissioners for the Districts of Stellaland, Mafeking, and Taungs.

The remainder of the country known as Bechuanaland, and Kalahari, on the west towards Namaqualand, over which Great Britain assumed a protectorate in accordance with an Anglo-Boer convention in 1884, are patrolled from time to time by border police.

(23) NATAL.

(With the Zulu Reserve).

Natal (capital, Durban) was formed into a British colony in 1845, and established as a separate government in 1856. Its area is about 210,000 square miles ; population nearly 445,000, of whom the Europeans number about 38,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £4,000, and a paid staff.

His Executive Council includes the Chief Justice, the Commander of the troops in Natal, the Colonial Secretary, Treasurer, Attorney-General, Secretary for Native Affairs, and the Colonial Engineer, and four members elected by the Legislative Council.

The Legislative Council includes the five civil officers last named, two nominated unofficial members, and twenty-three elected for four years. The electoral qualification is the possession of property to the value of £50, or of £10 in annual rents, or the enjoyment of an income of £8 per month.

The Local Government of Natal is by no means so systematic as that of the Cape Colony. There are sixteen Divisions, each with a Resident Magistrate, clerks, and a Zulu interpreter.

The Judicial Administration is discharged by a Chief Justice, two puisne judges, a judge of the Native High Court, with Divisional Clerks of the Peace, and four administrators of Native Law.

The Dutch Roman Law prevails in a modified form.

The Government grants annual sums in aid of denominational schools, and has founded in addition thirteen elementary and two secondary schools. A central Department and local Committees are responsible for their management.

The proportional strength of the religious denominations is much the same as in the Cape Colony. There is one Anglican bishop at Pietermaritzburg, and one Roman Catholic bishop.

Customs duties, from 7 to 15 per cent. *ad Tariff, &c. valorem*, yield about £165,000, out of a total revenue of about £675,000. The public debt approaches four millions sterling.

By an arrangement recently made, in order to avoid delays on the frontier, the Government of Natal pays to British Zululand an annual sum of £1,800 in lieu of import duties to which the latter country might be entitled.

(24) WEST AFRICA SETTLEMENTS.

Sierra Leone and Gambia, about 450 miles apart, form an associated Crown Colony under the name of the West Africa Settlements. The former occupies 200 miles of coast, between the free State of Liberia and the French settlement on the Susu coast; the latter is situated on the opposite shores of the Gambia River at its mouth, a hundred miles south of Cape Verd, with a French settlement on either side.

Area of the Sierra Leone territory (capital, Freetown), 3,000 square miles; population, about 80,000, of whom only about 300 are British.

Area of Gambia (capital, Bathurst), 69 square miles; population, about 14,000, of whom about 500 are British.

Sierra Leone is a coaling and victualling station for the British navy, and a West India regiment is stationed there.

There is no common administration for the Colony. The Governor of Sierra Leone is Governor-in-chief; there is a common Court of Appeal at Freetown, a Chief Justice and an Auditor-General. A general Inspector of Schools has been appointed for West Africa.

GOVERNMENT OF SIERRA LEONE.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary

of £3,000. His Executive Council includes the Chief Justice, Colonial Secretary and Treasurer, the Commanding Officer, and the Queen's Advocate. The Legislative Council has in addition to these officers three unofficial members.

The several districts of the coast have local Managers, and the island of Sherbro has a Civil Commandant and staff.

The Government aids and inspects some sixty denominational schools, which are controlled by a Board of Education. The Bishop of Sierra Leone has authority also at Gambia, Lagos, and the Gold Coast.

The Customs duties, import and export, yield a considerable part of the revenue, which averages £65,000. There is a public debt of £58,000.

GOVERNMENT OF GAMBIA.

The Administrator has a salary of £1,400. He is assisted by a Legislative Council, including the Treasurer, Collector of Customs, and Chief Magistrate, with three unofficial members.

There are two Managers of Districts—McCarthy's Island, 187 miles up the river, and Combo.

Education as in Sierra Leone.

The Customs revenue is about £16,000; the total revenue some £5,000 more. There is no debt.

(25) *THE GOLD COAST.*

The Gold Coast Colony (capital, Accra) consists of a series of settlements (Dixcove, Elmina, Cape Coast Castle, Accra, Quittah, &c.), and the neighbouring coast of Africa, stretching between a French protectorate on the west and a German protectorate on the east, and having Ashantee

on the north. Accra is nearly on the Greenwich meridian, and the greater part of the colony lies between the fifth and sixth parallels of north latitude. The distance from Cape Coast to London is 8,920 miles. Length of coast, 350 miles ; area, 35,000 square miles ; population, 500,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £3,000. He is assisted by an Executive Council, including the Lieutenant-Governor, Commanding Officer, Colonial Secretary, Queen's Advocate, and Treasurer. The Legislative Council adds to these officials the Chief Justice, and two nominated members.

There is an additional puisne judge stationed in the Colony.

Education is supported by the Government, which makes grants to the denominational schools, in addition to maintaining elementary schools at Accra and Cape Coast. Of Christian denominations the Wesleyans predominate. There are also schools conducted by the Basle and Bremen Mission Societies. An Inspector of Schools for West Africa, with his Assistant Inspector, has his headquarters in this Colony.

The Customs revenue is about £115,000, out of a total revenue of less than £130,000.

(26) LAGOS.

Lagos is an island and port 1,200 miles from Sierra Leone, and 315 from Cape Coast Castle. It lies between the French settlement of Kotonu on the west and the Niger Protectorate on the east. It was ceded to Great Britain for a money consideration in 1861, and sundry parts of the

neighbouring coast have been since acquired, or placed under British protection. The extent of the district is 1,071 square miles ; population, about 50,000.

GOVERNMENT.

Lagos, first associated with Sierra Leone, and then with the Gold Coast, was established as a separate colony in 1886.

The Administrator, appointed by the Crown, receives a salary of £1,700. His Executive Council includes the Officer Commanding the troops, the Colonial Secretary, the Queen's Advocate, and the Treasurer. There is a Legislative Council consisting of the same officials, the Judge of the Colony, and three unofficial nominated members.

Pending other arrangements, Lagos is still associated for particular purposes with the West Africa Settlements or the Gold Coast.

Small grants are made to denominational schools, which are under inspection by the Government.

The Christian population number about 6,000, and the Mahomedans about twice that number.

The Customs revenue is over £56,000, derived from a duty of about 4 per cent. This forms the bulk of the public revenue.

(27) THE NIGER PROTECTORATE.

The basin of the Lower Niger, including the coast between the rivers Benin and del Rey, and as far as the tenth parallel of latitude, was taken under British protection in 1884. In 1886 a charter was granted to the Royal Niger Company, with powers extending thirty miles

right and west of the Niger and Binu  rivers. Chief town, Akassa.

Such administration as extends beyond the jurisdiction of the Company is carried out by the British Consular Court.

The Anglican diocese of the Niger, with its native bishop, is under the Archbishop of Canterbury.

(28) ST. HELENA.

St. Helena (capital, James Town), 4,256 miles from Plymouth, and 1,695 miles from Cape Town, was vested in the Crown in 1888. Area, 47 square miles ; population, about 5,000.

It is a Crown Colony, administered by a Governor with the aid of an Executive Council, including the Commanding Officer, the Bishop, Colonial Secretary, and two nominated members. In the absence of a Legislative Council, the Governor issues ordinances on his own authority.

There is a Chief Justice, assisted by a Judge of the Summary Court, who is also police magistrate.

Education is compulsory. The Government maintains four schools, and aids two more. Religion, mainly Anglican. The diocese is under the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The only customs dues are on tobacco and intoxicants. Revenue, about £11,000, usually exceeded by the Expenditure. Debt, contracted in 1886, £5,750.

Ascension Island, north-west of St. Helena, in about eight degrees south latitude, is a small naval station, under the direct control of the Admiralty. Area, 35 square miles ; population, 400.

Tristan d'Acunha is the largest of a group of islands,

about twenty degrees south of St. Helena, and is inhabited by the descendants of shipwrecked British sailors and a few subsequent immigrants. Government nominal.

(29) **HELIGOLAND.**

Heligoland and Sandy Island, twenty miles from the mouth of the Elbe, were ceded to Great Britain by Denmark in 1814. Area, less than a mile ; population, 2,000.

The island is administered by a Governor (salary, £800) who is assisted by an Executive Council of officials. His ordinances have legal force in the island ; and he is at the same time commander-in-chief and judge of the Court of Sessions.

Education is compulsory. The children, mainly of Frisian origin, and speaking their own language, are taught English and German in addition.

There are duties on wine, spirits, malt liquor, and petroleum.

The total revenue is about £8,750, and there is a debt of £3,300.

(30) **GIBRALTAR.**

Gibraltar, British from 1713, is on a promontory of the Spanish coast, at the entrance of the Mediterranean. It is a naval and military station, with a free port. Area, nearly 2 square miles. Population, exclusive of troops, about 18,380.

The Governor is the general in command of the troops (salary, £5,000). He has no Council, and issues his ordinances for the government of the colony. The Colonial Secretary is also a British officer.

There is a Chief Justice, Attorney-General, and Police

Magistrate, an Anglican bishop (under the Archbishop of Canterbury), and a Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic.

The schools are denominational, and are aided by the Government.

Customs duties on wine, spirits, and malt liquor yield about £11,250, which is about one-quarter of the public revenue.

(31) MALTA.

Malta (capital, Valletta), with Gozo and minor islands, was ceded to Britain by the inhabitants in 1800, and confirmed to her in 1814. It is a military and naval station. Valletta is about 58 miles from Sicily. Area, 117 square miles; population, exclusive of troops, about 150,000.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £5,000. He is assisted by an official Executive Council of six members, consisting of the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Governor, Crown Advocate, Auditor-General, Director of Education, and Collector of Customs, together with three of the elected Legislative Council.

The Council of Government (Legislative Council), presided over by the Governor, includes six official members and fourteen others elected for five years. The latter must possess immovable property of the value of £100, or receive rent for such property to the amount of £10 a year, or pay £40 a year for board and lodging, in each case for twelve months before election. The electoral qualification is the enjoyment of an income of £8 a year from immovable property, or the payment of £4 in rent, and a knowledge of English and Italian (the official language)—or an income of £6 or a rent of £6, with six months residence. But the franchise is about to be extended.

There is a large Judicial Establishment, including a Chief Justice and five judges, who sit in the Courts of Appeal, and of Civil, Criminal, and Commercial Law. The island of Malta is divided into eight districts, which are superintended by magistrates, syndics, and a police administration. There are also two magistrates for Gozo.

Public education is free, but not compulsory. Education Nominal fees are charged at the secondary and school and the University of Malta, which has Religion. seventeen professors.

The prevailing religion is Roman Catholic. Malta and Gozo are separate dioceses, the Bishop of Malta being titular archbishop of Rhodes.

There are about twenty import duties, including somewhat heavy duties on grain and other food. They yield a considerable part of the revenue of about £215,000, and there are no other taxes. The expenditure has frequently exceeded the revenue.

(32) *CYPRUS.*

The island of Cyprus (capital, Nicosia) is 60 miles from Asia Minor, 41 from Syria, 258 from Egypt, 1,117 from Malta. Area, 3,596 square miles; population, 186,500, of whom the Greeks number about 140,000, the Mahomedans 45,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The island was occupied by Great Britain in 1878, by virtue of a Convention signed with Turkey, as a set-off to British engagements in Asia Minor. The main provisions of the Convention were as follows:—The Mussulman religious tribunal to continue. A Mussulman Resident to superintend, in conjunction with a British delegate, the

administration of funds and lands belonging to Mussulman mosques, cemeteries, schools, and other religious establishments. Great Britain to pay the Porte the present excess of revenue over expenditure, on the average of the previous five years. The Crown and State lands were reserved to the Porte, the British Government having a compulsory right of purchase. The British occupation to be concurrent with the Russian tenure of Kars and other conquests in Armenia.

Cyprus is now administered by a British High Commissioner, with a salary of £4,000, assisted by an Executive Council, which includes the Officer second in command of the forces, the Chief Secretary, Queen's Advocate, and Receiver-General.

The Legislative Council, presided over by the High Commissioner, includes six official members and twelve elected. The Council is renewed by election every five years, or on dissolution; three of the members being chosen by Mahomedan electors. The electoral qualification is payment of taxes, subject, in case of foreigners, to residence in the island for five years. All electors are qualified to sit on the Council.

The island has been divided into six districts, and these are constituted into three electoral districts, each returning one Mahomedan and three other members.

For purposes of Local Government the six districts are administered by British Commissioners with their staffs; and each district has a resident medical officer.

The Supreme Court is constituted of the Chief Justice and a puisne judge. The District Courts have British Presidents, and two Ordinary Judges—one Greek and one Mahomedan. These courts have limited civil and criminal

jurisdiction, the more important cases being tried by assize. There are six Assize Courts, formed by one judge of the Supreme Court sitting with at least one judge of the District Court. For the trial of minor criminal and civil cases there are six Magistrates' Courts and ten Village Courts. Four Cadis are also appointed and paid by the British Government.

The existing schools are aided by Government, Education to the amount of about £3,000 annually. The and administration is in the hands of the Greek Religion. Orthodox, the Mussulman, the Anglican, Scottish, American, Latin, and Maronite Churches.

The imposts in Cyprus are necessarily on- Tariff, &c. erous, most of them being survivals of the Turkish domination. The Customs revenue amounts to less than £30,000, the total revenue in 1885-6 being £172,334. The expenditure in the same year was £111,301; but the guaranteed annual payment to the Porte is £92,800, which leaves a heavy balance to be met by a Parliamentary appropriation.

(33) ADEN.

Aden is a fortified coaling station in Arabia, a hundred miles from the entrance to the Red Sea. It is attached to the government of Bombay. Area of the adjacent British territory, 70 square miles.

The administration is in the hands of a President, who is the commander of the garrison.

Perim is an island depending upon the station at Aden.

Socotra, annexed 1886, is a larger island on the route to India, and is also attached to the administration of Aden. Area, 3,000 square miles; population (mainly Arabs), 4,000.

(34) CEYLON.

Ceylon (capital, Colombo) is an island 40 miles south-east of Hindostan, between lat. 6° and 9°. Area, 24,702 square miles ; population, about 2,800,000, mostly of north Indian race, but including nearly a quarter of a million of imported labourers on the plantations.

The Maldivé Islands, on the west, are subject to the government of Ceylon.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor, appointed by the Crown, has a salary of 80,000 rupees. He is assisted by an Executive Council, including the Colonial Secretary, who is Lieutenant-Governor, the Officer commanding the troops, the Attorney-General, Treasurer, and Auditor-General.

The Legislative Council comprises the same officials, with three other nominated officials, and six nominated unofficial members.

Financial questions require the initiation of the Governor before they can be raised and discussed in the Legislative Council.

Ceylon is divided into eight administrative Provinces, which are presided over by British Government Agents, with British sub-agents, and native Headmen.

There is a strong Judicial Administration, including the Law Officers of the Crown, a Chief Justice, two puisne judges (one native), and five Crown Counsel (two native). For the District Courts there are nineteen other judges, with additional police magistrates and commissioners of requests. The medical and police staffs in Government employ are also thoroughly organized.

Government education is under the control of the Department of Public Instruction, with a Director and three Inspectors. The public elementary schools are free and unsectarian, and a system of payment by results has been established. Between £40,000 and £50,000 is annually expended in grants and payments. Grants are made in aid of higher schools, and one of these, the Royal College, is entirely maintained by the Government; which also promotes agricultural and technical instruction.

Provision is made for the gradual extinction of ecclesiastical endowments; but in the meantime about 10,000 rupees are appropriated to the service of the Anglican bishopric of Colombo. There are three Roman Catholic bishoprics, not endowed; also Presbyterian and Portuguese establishments, certain ministers of which continue to draw salaries from the State during their lifetime.

The diocese of Colombo is in the Anglican province of Calcutta.

A comparatively strict protective system exists in Ceylon, the Customs revenue amounting to nearly three million rupees (£300,000 nominal exchange), out of a total revenue of about £1,800,000. The expenditure is covered by the revenue. The public debt is about £2,284,000, a considerable part of which sum has been expended on public works.

(35) *MAURITIUS.*

Mauritius (capital, Port Louis) is an island 2,300 miles from the Cape of Good Hope, and 115 miles from the French island of Réunion. It was ceded to Great Britain in 1814, and now possesses fine docks, barracks, and

military and naval stores. Area, 708 square miles, or, with the associated islands in the Indian Ocean, 880. Population, inclusive, about 375,000—mainly French and Creoles.

GOVERNMENT.

For a long time after the cession the original laws and institutions of the island were maintained, under the administration of a Governor. The last modification of the Constitution was in 1885.

The Governor has a salary of £6,000, and is assisted by an Executive Council, which includes the Colonial Secretary, Procureur and Advocate-General, Receiver-General, Auditor-General, and Collector of Customs.

The Legislative Council includes, in addition to the above, the Commanding Officer,* the Protector of Immigrants, and Surveyor-General, together with nine members nominated by the Governor, and ten elected. Three of the nominated members must be non-official. The island is divided for electoral and administrative purposes into nine districts. Port Louis elects two of the representative members, and the remaining districts one each.

The members of the two Councils are styled Honourable.

The Chief Judge of the Supreme Court is assisted by three puisne judges, a Master, Registrar, and their staffs. The former is also judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court. In the Procureur-General's department are the Crown Attorney and Solicitor. Each district has a presiding magistrate, with additional police magistrates.

* Compare Hong Kong, where the position of the Commanding Officer is reversed. Elsewhere, as in Ceylon, this Officer acts on both Councils.

As in several other British Colonies, the elementary schools are of two classes—(1) public, and supported wholly by the Government; and (2) semi-public, aided by grants. About £25,000 is annually expended in supporting 66 public schools and in aiding 75 semi-public. All these schools are under inspection. On higher education the Government expends about £17,000, most of which goes to the Royal College, with its two affiliated schools, at Port Louis and Curepipe.

Religion also is endowed in Mauritius, about £8,000 going to Roman Catholic establishments and £4,500 to Protestant denominations. The Roman Catholics outnumber the Protestants by 100,000. The school statistics show that 14 per cent. of the children in attendance are Hindoos, whilst 5 per cent. are Mahomedans.

The Anglican bishop and his clergy are paid by the Government, as also the Roman Catholic bishop and clergy, and two ministers of the Church of Scotland. The Anglican diocese is under the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Customs duties average $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and yield about £228,000. The Revenue is about £730,000, and has latterly been exceeded by the expenditure. The public debt is £743,600.

The *Seychelles Islands* (capital, Victoria, on Mahé Island), at a distance of 940 miles north, are administered by a Chief Civil Commissioner and his Board, appointed by the Secretary for the Colonies, but subordinate to the Governor of Mauritius. Area, nearly eight square miles.

The *Amirante Islands*, south of Seychelles, and the *Chagos Islands*, with sundry smaller groups, are also associated with Mauritius.

Rodriguez Island, 344 miles from Port Louis, is governed

in the same manner as the Seychelles. Area, about 100 square miles ; population, about 1,450.

The *Oil Islands* (Diego Garcia, &c.), south of the Chagos, are administered by a magistrate and a force of police, under instructions from Mauritius. Diego Garcia is a mercantile coaling station.

(36) STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

On the Straits of Malacca (capital, Singapore), between the Malay Peninsula and the Dutch island of Sumatra, Great Britain possesses four settlements—Singapore Island, Malacca, Penang Island, Wellesley Province—and a strip of territory opposite Dinding Island, in the State of Perak. The chief town of Malacca bears the same name ; of Penang, Georgetown. The Keeling Islands are associated with the Straits Settlements.

Area of Singapore, 206 square miles ; population, now over 150,000, of whom there were in 1881, 2,769 Europeans, 22,155 Malays, 86,766 Chinese, and 12,058 natives of India. Area of Penang, 107 square miles ; population, now over 100,000, of whom only 612 were Europeans in 1881. Area of Wellesley Province, 270 square miles ; population, over 105,000, of whom 76 were Europeans at the last census. Area of Malacca, 659 square miles ; population, now about 100,000, of whom 40 were Europeans in 1881.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £5,000. He is assisted by an Executive Council, including the Commanding Officer, Colonial Secretary, the Resident Councillors of Penang and Malacca, the Attorney-General,

Treasurer, Auditor-General, Colonial Engineer, and Commissioner of Land Tithes.

The Legislative Council, in addition to these officials, includes seven nominated unofficial members.

There are in Singapore a Chief Justice and a puisne judge, with stipendiary police magistrates. In Penang there are two puisne judges, a Solicitor-General, and four magistrates. Malacca has a Registrar and a Magistrate of the Court of Requests.

A sum is voted from year to year in aid of **Education** unsectarian education. The education of the **and** Malays is free. Here, as in one or two other **Religion.** British colonies, by what appears to be a short-sighted policy, exceptional fees are charged to natives learning English. The Anglican diocese is under the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Revenue, about £630,000. Public debt, £48,500.

(37) LABUAN.

Labuan Island, six miles from the north coast of Borneo, was ceded to Great Britain in 1846. The colony includes about fifty Europeans, the rest, mainly Malays and Chinese, numbering 6,000.

The Governor, appointed by the Crown, has a salary of £800, and £550 as Consul-General. He is assisted by a nominated Council of four. Including the Governor, there are three justices of the peace, and public order is insured by a local police force.

One free school is supported by a grant.

The revenue, imports and exports, are gradually decreasing. A few customs dues are levied, which, with the

sale of licenses to sell tobacco, spirits, opium, and fish, make up an annual income of between £4,000 and £5,000.

On Borneo itself is the territory of *British North Borneo* (capital, Sandakan), ceded by local Sultans to a Company incorporated by royal charter in 1881, and governed by the Board of Directors in London. The Board nominate the Governor (salary £1,440), who must, however, be approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

(38) HONG KONG.

The island of Hong Kong (capital, Victoria), at the mouth of the Canton river, about half-a-mile from the shore, was ceded to Great Britain in 1841, and the small promontory of Kowloon was added twenty years later. Hong Kong is a free port; it has five docks, and is a large *entrepôt* of trade. Area, 30 square miles; population, about 200,000, of whom nearly 9,000 are European or American.

GOVERNMENT.

The Governor, appointed by the Crown, has a salary of £5,000. He is assisted by Executive and Legislative Councils, over both of which he presides.

The Executive Council includes the Commanding Officer, Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General, Treasurer, Surveyor-General, and Registrar-General.

The Legislative Council substitutes the Chief Justice for the Commanding Officer, and has also five unofficial members, three nominated by the Crown, one by the Justices of the Peace, and one by the Chamber of Commerce.

The Chief Justice is President of the Supreme Court and Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court. He is assisted by

a puisne judge in the former, and a deputy-judge in the latter.

Elementary Education is aided by grants, and is under Government inspection. There is a central school maintained by public funds.

An Anglican bishop of Mid China is supported by the Colonial Bishoprics Fund.

The Public Revenue is about £1,250,000, and the expenditure has, since 1880, been considerably in excess of revenue.

(39) **FALKLAND ISLANDS.**

The Falkland Islands lie off the east coast of Patagonia, in longitude 60° west. Further east, in longitude 87°, is the associated group of South Georgia Islands. Aggregate area, 7,500 square miles; population, about 1,700.

The Governor, appointed by the Crown, has a salary of £1,000. He is assisted by an Executive Council, including the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonial Secretary, Surgeon, and Chaplain. There is also a nominated Legislative Council, which substitutes (in the above list) two unofficial members for the chaplain.

The Governor is Chief Justice, and the Colonial Secretary is police magistrate.

There is an Anglican bishop, paid by the South American Missionary Society, and under the control of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Customs revenue, about £2,550; total public revenue, about £50,000. The expenditure has hitherto exceeded the revenue.

The Acts of 1843 and 1860, providing for the government of the Falkland Islands, were specifically repealed by

the British Settlements Act of 1887, so that the Colony is now under the immediate control of the Privy Council, as formulated in the last-mentioned Act.

(40) WESTERN PACIFIC ISLANDS.

Acts of the Imperial Parliament were passed in 1872 and 1875 for the protection of natives in the Pacific Islands. An Order of the Privy Council in 1877 created the office of High Commissioner over all the islands not included in existing colonies, or under the domination of a civilized Power; one of the main objects being to establish a Civil Court for the adjustment of disputes amongst the British residents in these islands.

The islands in the jurisdiction of this Court are—

British New Guinea (q.v.)	Friendly Islands (Tonga, &c.)
Louisiade Islands	Melanesia
New Hebrides	Samoa Islands
Solomon Islands	

The Court consists of the High Commissioner, and Judicial and Deputy Commissioners appointed by him. The powers of the Judicial Commissioners correspond to those of the Supreme Court in England, whilst the Deputy Commissioners have the powers of Stipendiary Magistrates and County Court judges. An appeal lies from them to the Supreme Court in Fiji.

In addition to the Deputy Commissioners for Tonga, Samoa, and the Western Pacific generally, officers of Her Majesty's ships on the Australian station have been nominated to the same office.

Neither the Acts above cited nor the Order in Council

could be an absolute bar against the occupation of any island by another Power, so long as Great Britain had not set up an effective government.

INDIA.

India (capital, Calcutta) is a vast promontory of Southern Asia, bounded naturally by the Indian Ocean and by a chain of mountains consisting of the Halah, Suliman, and Himalaya ranges. The political boundaries, taken in order from west to east, are Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Chinese tributaries, Nepaul, Bhotan, China and Siam. Goa, on the west coast, belongs to Holland; Pondicherry, on the east coast, to France.

The divisions, area, and population (1881) of Hindostan are shown in the following tables :—

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION.

Under—	Administrative Districts.	Sq. Miles.	Population.
Lieut.-Governor of Bengal; including Bengal proper, Behar, Orissa, Nagpore	49	156,564	66,891,468
Chief Commissioner of Assam	18	46,341	4,861,426
Lieut.-Governor, N.W. Provinces and Oudh (Meerut, Agra, Rohilkund, Allahabad, Benares, Lucknow, Fyzabad, &c.)	49	106,111	44,107,809
Lieut.-Governor, Punjab (Delhi, Umballa, Umritsur, Lahore, Mooltan, Peshawur, &c.)	82	106,632	18,860,437
Governor of Bombay (including Sind)	23	124,122	16,454,414
Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces (Nagpore, Jabulpore, Nerbudda, &c.)	18	84,445	9,838,791
Governor of Madras	21	189,900	80,868,504
Chief Commissioner, Burmah (Arracan, Pegu, Irrawaddy, Tenasserim)	19	87,220	8,786,771
Chief Commissioner, Upper Burmah	—	190,600	8,000,000
Governor-General (Berar, Ajmere, Coorg, Andaman Islands)	10	22,885	8,326,325
	284	1,064,720	201,755,938

FEUDATORY STATES.

Under—	Districts or States.	Sq. Miles.	Population.
Gaekwar of Baroda	6	8,570	2,185,005
Central Indian Agency (Gwalior, Indore, and many smaller States)	82	75,079	9,261,907
Nizam of Hyderabad	19	81,807	9,845,594
Maharajah of Mysore	8	24,723	4,186,188
Agency of Rajputana (Jodhpore, Ondipore, Jaipore, &c.)	20	129,750	10,268,392
Maharajahs of Travancore, Cashmere, Patiala, &c.; Begum of Bhopal, &c., variously situated	82	189,801	19,444,856
Feudatory States	217*	509,730	55,191,742
Total, India and Burmah.. .. .	451	1,574,460	266,947,735

The annual tribute paid by the Feudatory States is £700,000. Their gross revenues amount to about £6,000,000, and their armies to something like 300,000.

According to the census of 1881 there were 89,798 British-born subjects in India (excluding the army), of whom 72,382 were between the ages of 20 and 40, and 12,610 were females. The members of the Civil Service then numbered 2,996.

Enumerated according to language, the native population in 1881 was :—

Hindustani, about	82,497,000	Ooriya	about	6,819,000
Bengali, ..	38,965,000	Malay	..	4,848,000
Telugu ..	17,000,000	Sindhi	..	3,718,000
Mahratti ..	17,044,000	Burmese	..	2,611,000
Punjabi ..	15,754,000	Hindi	..	1,880,000

* Owing to the subdivision of patrimonies, especially in Central India, the nominally independent States number about 800. Those above given are amongst the more important.

Tamil	about 13,068,000	Assamese	about 1,361,000
Guzarati	„ 9,620,000	Kol	„ 1,140,000
Canarese	„ 8,337,000	Sonthali	„ 1,130,000

with many other languages and dialects less widely distributed.

The principal occupations of the natives under our rule (including children) are—agriculture, about 70,000,000; manufacturers and artificers, 22,000,000; domestic servants, 2,800,000; local government officials, 810,000; connected with the army, 312,000; religious, 700,000; mercantile, 1,110,000; tradespeople, 1,175,000; carriers, 1,150,000; labourers, 7,250,000.

Upper Burmah was annexed to the Indian Empire in 1886, and the government is administered by a Chief Commissioner, subject to the directions of the Governor-General. With regard to the previously-existing suzerain rights of China, an arrangement was made between the two countries in August, 1887, to the following effect:—

“Inasmuch as it has been the practice of Burmah to send decennial missions to present articles of local produce, England agrees that the highest authority in Burmah shall send the customary decennial missions, the members of the missions to be of Burmese race. China agrees that, in all matters whatsoever appertaining to the authority and rule which England is now exercising in Burmah, England shall be free to do whatever she deems fit and proper. The frontier between Burmah and China to be marked by a Delimitation Commission, and the conditions of frontier trade to be settled by a Frontier Trade Convention, both countries agreeing to protect and encourage trade between China and Burmah.”

GOVERNMENT.

More than a hundred years ago the Crown exercised distinct control, through Parliament, over the Government of India—either in concert with or independently of the East India Company. The first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, was appointed by virtue of the Regulating Act, in 1772. In 1784 the India Bill created a Board of Control, whose president sat in the House of Commons. The Company's Charter was renewed from time to time, though under modified conditions, the monopoly being gradually narrowed. The Civil Service of the country was thrown open to competition in 1853, when the last renewal of the Charter was granted.

In 1858, as a sequel of the great Rebellion, an Act of Parliament transferred to direct British rule all the territories hitherto governed by the Company. The powers of the old Board of Control were conferred upon Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India (see page 82), and upon the Governor-General acting under his orders. The Secretary of State and the Governor-General are respectively assisted by the "India Council" in London and the "Council of the Governor-General" in India.

The powers of the Secretary of State and the India Council have been previously described.

The Governor-General is appointed by the Crown, with a salary of £25,000, and allowances of about £12,000 in addition. His staff includes private and military secretaries, British and native aides-de-camp, and others.

The Executive Council of the Governor-General has six ordinary members, appointed directly by the Crown, together with the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in India for the time being. They preside over the ad-

ministration of Home and Foreign Affairs, Finances, Law, Revenue and Agriculture, Public Works, and Military Affairs, being responsible solely to the Crown. The Governor-General appoints from six to twelve "additional members for making laws and regulations," who, with the Executive, constitute a Legislative Council. The proceedings of this Council are held in public. At the present time four of the "additional members" are natives of India.

There are permanent Secretaries to the Government of India for all the seven administrative Departments mentioned above.

The Crown appoints the Governors of Madras and Bombay, who have Executive and Legislative Councils constituted on the model of those attached to the Governor-General, and who in ordinary routine correspond directly with the Secretary of State for India.

The Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners of the other provinces under British Administration are appointed by the Governor-General, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. Of these the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal has a Legislative Council only; but the others administer their governments without Councils. In Madras, Bombay, and Bengal there are four permanent departmental Secretaries.

These Provinces are divided for the purpose of administration into Districts, each presided over by an executive Collector-magistrate, or Deputy-commissioner, having under him Deputy-collectors and Assistant-magistrates. The officials here named are supplied by the India Civil Service. One-sixth of the covenanted Civil Service appointments are reserved for natives of India, so far as competent candidates are forthcoming.

In the Native States the Governor-General is represented by Political Residents, whose function is to advise with the native rulers. The latter are precluded by their engagements with the British Government from making war, entering into treaties, exchanging ambassadors, maintaining more than a stipulated military force, or receiving European residents without the sanction of the Governor-General. There are Agents in Central India, Rajputana, Baroda, and also in Baluchistan; Residents in Hyderabad, Mysore, Cashmere, and Nepaul; Political Residents at Aden and on the Persian Gulf; and a Political Agent at Bagdad.

The system of Local Government in India has been considerably extended of late. Municipal representative government is enjoyed by about 750 towns, and in some provinces there are rural representative District Boards. Provision was made by an Act during Lord Ripon's term of office for the gradual development of this system, as the responsible authorities may consider it safe and practicable. On the same basis there has been a partial decentralization of the financial system of the country—existing municipalities and Boards disposing of nearly £20,000,000 of annual taxation.

Judicial Administration. In addition to the central Department of Legislature, there are High Courts of Judicature in Bengal (a Chief Justice and thirteen puisne judges, with an Advocate-General); in Madras (Chief Justice, five puisne judges, and Advocate-General); in Bombay (Chief Justice, seven puisne judges, and Advocate-General); and in the North-West Provinces (Chief Justice, and four puisne judges). There are also Chief Courts at Lahore and other principal towns, in addition to the numerous magistrates already mentioned.

The police force of India numbers about 140,000. The statistics of crime show a somewhat remarkable decrease in the number of convictions within the past ten years.

Education has not, until quite recently, been systematically promoted by Government. It appeared by the census of 1881 that more than 217 millions of the population of India were unable to read or write. On the recommendation of a Commission appointed in 1883 effective measures were taken to bring about a better state of things. The number of schools supported or aided by public funds, and controlled by Departments of Education in every Province, with adequate staffs of inspectors, is now about 150,000, rising from elementary village schools to high schools and colleges. The English language is almost universally taught. Every district has its English school, and the three Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, have an average total of nearly 4,000 matriculations every year. The Government grants amount to about £800,000, whilst some £340,000 is raised by local rates, and over a million by local grants, private efforts, and fees.

There were, in 1881, in the whole of India—

187,937,450 Hindoos ;	1,853,426 Sikhs ;
50,120,585 Mahomedans ;	1,221,896 Jains ;
6,426,511 "aboriginals" ;	85,397 Parsees ;
3,418,884 Buddhists ;	12,009 Jews ;
1,862,634 Christians ;	

and about a million of other religious denominations. Of the Christians, 83,330 were British born ; 893,658 were natives ; 62,084 Eurasians ; 59,280 Europeans not British ;

The Roman Catholics claimed 963,059; the Anglican Church, 353,712; the Protestant denominations, 138,200.

The Anglican establishment includes the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lahore, and Rangoon. There is a Roman Catholic Bishop of Bombay.

British India being under direct British **Tariff, &c.** government, the commercial system of the mother country prevails; that is to say, there is general free trade, with very few exceptions. The only import duties now levied are on arms and ammunition, intoxicating liquors, opium, and salt. The cotton duty was removed a few years ago, with the result that the volume of export trade in Indian yarn and piece goods has increased 400 per cent. in the last ten years.

The gradually increased efficiency of the material administration of India, especially since the establishment of the imperial *régime*, may be illustrated by comparing the sums of money expended on works of public utility—railroads, turnpike roads, canals, irrigation works, &c.—during the past thirty or forty years. The total expenditure of the country has more than doubled within this period. Before the Mutiny it was under thirty millions sterling, and up to 1854 the sum spent on public works was never more than a million in one year. In ten years it had risen to £7,000,000, and it now approaches £24,000,000 gross, with a return of over £16,000,000 earned income.

The revenue derived from customs and excise, opium, salt, and land, amounts to very nearly £44,500,000, of which the land tax represents rather more than half, and about two-sevenths of the entire revenue. The collection

of this tax is very costly, and the cost appears to have been steadily increasing, whilst the gross yield is almost stationary. The mode of collection varies in different parts of India. There is the fixed settlement of about 200,000 square miles of land, brought about in the time of Lord Cornwallis. There is the village assessment, under which the actual collection from the zemindars is left to the local authorities; and again there is the ryotwari system, by which the large proprietors and notables pay the Government levies, and recoup themselves by charging the ryots. The land-tax is estimated at about 2s. per head on the whole population of India. The zemindars and village communities hold about 157,000,000 acres—chiefly in the Punjab, North-West Provinces, Madras, Central Provinces, and Oudh. The ryotwari landholders occupy about 115,000,000 acres—chiefly in Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, Berar, and Lower Burmah.

The last few Indian budgets have shown a normal expenditure of over £76,000,000. In 1885-6 there was a large deficit, and in the two succeeding years a small surplus. The cost of the army approximates to £20,000,000; the total cost of collection exceeds £8,000,000; and the interest on debt approaches six millions sterling. The aggregate (funded and unfunded) debt of India is about £175,000,000, having increased in the past ten years by over £44,000,000.

The great work which recent administrations claim to have done in India—apart from the tentative enlargements of popular liberties which mainly distinguish the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon—is that of consolidation and centralization. “The power of initiative in the control of all Indian questions, alike of internal administration and of external

policy, now rests, not with the Secretary of State's Council, but with the Secretary of State himself.* The despatches to India issue under his single signature and in his name. 'I have considered in Council,' he says, 'the facts of the case,' and then he proceeds to give his decision thereon. He may not only overrule his Council, but he and the permanent officials under him can to some extent regulate what individual questions shall be submitted to his councillors." (Compare with the Netherlands Constitution—especially as regards the reference to the consideration in Council.)

"While the control of India has thus been consolidated in the hands of the Secretary of State, the Government of India has been firmly gathered up into the hands of the Viceroy. Apart from cases of emergency or high importance, in which the Viceroy may by law act independently of his colleagues, modern practice has rendered the Governor-General in Council a more compact and automatic body than it was under the Company. . . . Each member of Council has now become a Minister in charge of a separate department, and responsible directly to the Viceroy for its work. Matters of routine seldom go beyond the member in charge; questions of more importance are generally settled between the member and the Viceroy. Only when they differ, or when points of special interest or of public policy are involved, does the Viceroy circulate the papers to his colleagues. . . : The consolidating forces which have thus reorganized the control and the government of India make themselves equally felt in the administration. At the beginning of the Queen's reign the district

* See a very able article on "The India of the Queen—Consolidation," in *The Times* of Nov. 10, 1887.

officer was the one conspicuous figure in the internal management of the country. Far-off things called boards and councils and governors were known to exist, but their existence was scarcely realized by the people. The head of the district, or 'collector,' was a king in his own right, and his subjects troubled themselves with few speculations as to the ultimate sanctions on which his authority might rest. One by one his prerogatives have been curtailed by the Provincial Governments."

It is thought by some that the centralization has been carried too far, and even that the tendency of recent years has been in the wrong direction. The authority already quoted points out that the district officer still stands as the visible representative of British rule to the people. "The administrative machine seems to work with a smoothness and rapidity formerly unknown. Mistakes are more easily corrected; misconduct is more promptly checked; from a cheaper judicial agency equal results are obtained. Whether good work will be equally encouraged, honest workers as firmly supported, and the individuality of the administrators as usefully developed, time alone can show. Any forecast is complicated by the circumstance that, while the initiative of the collectors has been curtailed, a new administrative mechanism of rural unions, district boards, and municipal bodies has been created. It may seem to the next generation that the decay of the district officer was merely a natural stage in the growth of local self-government."

It is possible to believe that the tendency of British government in India is frankly and continuously in the direction of safe concessions of native home rule. The principles involved in such concessions have been more than once affirmed by the Imperial Government during the

past half-century. Thus in an Act passed in the year 1833 it was laid down "that no native of the said territories (India), nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government." And the Proclamation of the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India, in 1858, included the following passage:—"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian Territories by the same obligations which bind us to all our other subjects. . . . And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

1887. Amongst the political controversies of the day which have raised points of constitutional form—which have sprung from or tend to modify the characteristic government of the country—we may distinguish two classes, differing from each other in their origin and tendency. There are, first, the questions which seem to grow naturally out of the complex Constitution of the British State, the necessary developments which it is possible to control or delay, but not possible altogether to defeat; and there are the questions which arise between Great Britain and foreign Powers when the interests of a British colony or dependency are affected, and when the refusal of the mother country to make the quarrel her own would weaken if it did not break the bond of imperial union.

Prominent in the first category is a problem which simultaneously presents itself in every civilized and populous country, and which may be stated in the form of a question familiar to every close observer of current events. Where and how should a limit be set to the marked tendency of modern legislation, which ignores many of the old economic maxims, and which leads directly to the goal of State Socialism? Most of the recent legislation for Ireland has been tinged by the adoption of socialistic principles; and one argument of those who advocate a system of home rule for Ireland is that it would relieve the Imperial Parliament of the necessity of having recourse to expedients which necessity alone can justify. Many public measures passed by the last two Parliaments could be shown to involve a departure from political precepts which were once held to be inviolable. It is generally admitted that the circumstances of the time are such as to compel legislators to avail themselves of newer and less firmly-established models of remedial legislation. No aspect of political life, at any rate in the domain of abstract political science, has been more seriously discussed within the past year; and perhaps none possesses a deeper interest for the historical student.

Social
Disturb-
ance.

The position of those who regard this tendency with the gravest misgiving was laid down by the Marquis of Hartington in a speech delivered by him at Edinburgh in the month of April. "I see," he said, "or I think I see, in the conduct of the present Liberal party the toleration of doctrines which are doctrines of revolution, not of reform. I see that an impatience of suffering, an anxiety to remove the evils which are among us, which have always been among us, is leading too many among them to look in

the direction of those socialistic or communistic changes which have hitherto been condemned by the whole Liberal party, no less on account of their fallacy, and of the ruin and mischief which they would cause, than of their immorality. I see also a toleration of violence—violence when used by people in the position of the Irish people, who can give any excuse or any grievance as a pretext for such violence. I see an indifference to law, as law, if the laws even appear to conflict with the theories or the dreams of the moment.”

So far, however, as the socialising tendency is concerned, it has not been confined to any one party in the State ; and indeed the State Socialism of Germany and one or two other countries has been adopted by Conservative statesmen for distinctly Conservative ends. Lord Wemyss has counted 280 Bills, of a more or less socialistic character, introduced into Parliament between 1870 and 1887, and he has asserted that “there is now hardly an Act of Parliament passed that does not contain this dreadful clause—‘all contracts to the contrary notwithstanding.’” If there is here something of the exaggeration of timidity, it is not to be denied that the drift of modern legislation is towards the providing of remedies for grievances based on *à priori* considerations of what is just or unjust, with comparatively slight regard for accepted economic maxims.

The necessity which is put upon the State to provide for the poorest of the poor who are continually thrown upon its hands—and who, apart from the consideration of humanity, would produce greater responsibilities still if the responsibility of provision were neglected—has an important bearing on the “socialistic” tendency of modern legislation. The basis of the system of Poor-law relief in

Great Britain is the legislation of 1834, which has been declared by a sufficiently high authority to rest on the following principles:—"No one shall be allowed to perish through want of what is necessary for sustaining life and health. Every destitute parent is bound to demand and obtain from the guardians what is necessary for sustaining the health and life of his children. Neglect of this duty is criminal. It is obligatory on the guardians of the poor to afford sufficient relief to all persons unable to maintain themselves. The refusal of any officer to bestow such relief is an indictable offence." It is contended by some that the State, so long as it maintains these principles, frees itself from all responsibility for disasters which follow in spite of them. To which it may be answered that, as the State suffers by these disasters, it cannot divest itself of the duty of preventing them.

Widespread industrial depression seems not unlikely to bring about legislative and administrative changes in the near future. How far these changes are destined to advance in the direction of State Socialism of the German stamp it is, of course, impossible to say. Perhaps the most coherent expression of the demands put forward by or in the interest of unemployed labourers may be found in the words of a resolution which has been passed, by the Socialists and others, at many public meetings in the metropolis: "In view of the deepening distress in London, as evidenced by the increase of metropolitan pauperism, and of the growing number of the unemployed class, the Government should be called upon to relax the severity of the outdoor-relief test for able-bodied men proved to be unable to get work. The local authorities should be urged to find work for the unemployed at a

reasonable rate of wages, and the Government should direct the Metropolitan Board of Works to commence building artisans' dwellings on vacant sites, especially on the sites of the prisons now abandoned; should reduce the hours of work in all Government establishments to eight hours a day; should give no contracts of work to firms who pay less than trades-union rates of wages to the workmen; should introduce a Bill for compulsorily shortening the hours of labour of all employés on railways, tramways, and omnibuses to eight hours; and should establish relations with the Governments on the Continent, with a view to international legislation for establishing reduced working hours in all trades and occupations."

Meanwhile a remedy for the economic troubles of the country is once more being sought for in a proposed return to the discarded system of Protection, which (its advocates maintain) would revive British trade at the expense of rival countries, would increase workmen's wages even if it raised the cost of food, would render farming more profitable, and restore the old rents to impoverished landlords. A resolution in favour of differential duties was carried in November at a meeting said to include representatives of over a thousand Conservative associations; and the leaders of the movement appear determined to press their proposals in and out of Parliament.

Ireland. Though what has been spoken of as the

socialistic tendency is very manifest in the agrarian Acts of Parliament passed for the relief of Irish tenants, the Home Rule controversy has another aspect which brings it more distinctly within the scope of the present observations. The demand of Ireland for an increased measure of self-government, which in one form or

another statesmen of all parties are disposed to grant, is in the direct line of constitutional development. The main divergency of opinion has arisen on the question as to the nature and extent of the self-government which should be granted, for it is a comparatively small minority which would maintain the present system of centralized government precisely as it stands. Between the advocates of a full measure of home rule and those who are willing to concede a tentative measure of local government in Ireland, the distinction is very considerable ; and throughout 1887 the controversy has been waged with unflagging energy, both in and out of Parliament. It is not yet possible to sum up the actual results of the discussion. Both sides have laboured to produce an effect on public opinion, sowing seeds from which the harvest is not expected before the next general election. Both claim the same sanctions, and appeal to almost identical principles ; and it would be out of place to attempt here a judgment between the deliberate and temperate arguments of such men as Professor Dicey and Lord Thring, of Mr. Courtney and Mr. Morley. But it seems reasonable to conclude that a distinct modification of the method of Irish government, uniting the consent and support of all moderate men, will be made after no long delay.

The legislation of the year in respect of Ireland includes, amongst other measures, a Criminal Law and Procedure Act and a Land Law Amendment Act. The first of these provides for preliminary inquiries into crimes in proclaimed districts, by order of the Attorney-General, before resident magistrates, although no person is accused of the offence ; for the extension of summary jurisdiction ; for the empanelling of special juries and the change of venue ; for

the proclamation of districts and "dangerous associations;" for the prohibition of the latter; and for the procedure under the Act. No limit of time is placed on the operation of this measure. The Land Law Act confers on leaseholders the benefits of the Act of 1881, under very favourable conditions, and provides for the substitution of a written notice on the landlord's part as equivalent to the execution of an ejectment, after which the tenant in possession shall be deemed to be a caretaker, for whose removal another month's notice is required. The remainder of this Act contains provisions for the facilitation of land purchases, for the adjustment of judicial rents, and for various other purposes. The Land Commissioners have since reduced rents all round by an average of 14 per cent.

The material prosperity of Ireland continues to decline. The decrease in prices of agricultural produce, in rent, and in general trade and industry, has already been mentioned. The 55th Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to the Treasury shows that during the year ending March 31, 1887, they had made 1,358 loans, amounting to £623,400, as against 2,166 loans in the previous twelve months, amounting to £808,516; and the Commissioners state that this large reduction "is to a great extent apparently accounted for by the disturbed and unsettled state of the country." The heads under which these loans were made, and the Acts which sanction them, are:—Railways, £111,000; Public Health Acts (Sanitary, Drainage, &c.), 1842, 1863, £63,028; Labourers' Act, £136,679; Housing of the Working Classes, 1866, 1875, 1885, £79,161; Land Improvement Act, 1847, £54,525; Loans to Tenants, 1881, £60,955.

Owing to the almost exclusive occupation of the political domain by the Irish question, other topics of very considerable importance have been obscured—topics which await only the settlement of that question to become prominent and urgent. The policy of a popular party in Great Britain must always rest in some measure upon constitutional development; and politicians of all shades are agreed that, if and when a pacified Ireland ceases to exhaust the energies of the British House of Commons, it will be necessary for legislators to turn their attention to matters of local government and further electoral reform. It is agreed that the principle of popular representative control over domestic affairs, already familiar in the Constitution of Great Britain, is to be extended from municipal to county and parish affairs. No one denies that the burden of local taxation stands in great need of adjustment, and it is scarcely now a matter of controversy that a community is entitled to regulate the sale of intoxicants within its own boundaries; but for these and all kindred matters a representative council of ratepayers is clearly indispensable. There are other principles which enter into the suggested programmes of the several political parties—such as Church disestablishment and the modification of tariffs; but these do not lie so directly in the path of constitutional expansion as the matters before mentioned.

**General
Policy.**

In so far as the foreign relations of Great Britain in 1887 have been affected by the interests of her colonies and dependencies, the year has been unusually eventful. The occupation of the New Hebrides by France had created a position of much embarrassment for the British Government. By a Treaty

**Foreign
Relations
—France.**

signed in 1878, and confirmed in 1888, the two countries had agreed that the islands should not be occupied by either; but the French, having landed some troops for the temporary protection of their fellow-countrymen, kept them there in spite of the repeated and urgent protests of Great Britain, acting on behalf of the Australian Governments. Lord Rosebery, before the Liberals went out of office, suggested a compromise by which it would at any rate have been secured that no island in the Pacific should be employed by France as a convict station; but the colonists were not satisfied with this arrangement, and at the London Conference in April the representatives of Australia urged their views with significant vigour, even to the extent of suggesting that, if the imperial authorities could not secure the Colonies against the encroachment of France, they would have to devise some means of protecting themselves.

In the meantime the French Government had studiously opposed the efforts of the British Government to arrange a Convention with Turkey in regard to the evacuation and future control of Egypt. The Sultan had virtually accepted an arrangement negotiated by Sir H. D. Wolff, when the joint opposition of France and Russia induced him to withdraw his consent. France declared herself quite ready to come to an understanding with Great Britain on the subject of Egypt, and especially with a view to the neutralization of the Suez Canal; and her Foreign Minister appears to have conceived the happy thought of coupling the latter question with that of the New Hebrides, of discussing them side by side, and of arriving at simultaneous solutions of both difficulties. The British Government, though objecting on principle to this combination, was

mainly anxious to secure satisfaction for the Australian Colonies; and the upshot of the negotiations was the twofold agreement of October, whereby France agreed to evacuate the New Hebrides, and the two Governments adopted a Convention in respect of the Canal, based on a draft Convention which had resulted from a Conference of all the Powers in 1885. The main provisions of this instrument are as follows :—

“The Maritime Canal remaining open as a free passage in time of war, even to the war vessels of the belligerents, in accord with the stipulations of Article 1 of the present Treaty, the high contracting parties agree that no right of war, no act of hostility, nor any act having for its object to impede the free navigation of the Canal, shall be exercised or accomplished in the Canal and its ports of access, or within a radius of three maritime miles of those ports, even should the Porte be one of the belligerent Powers. The war ships of the belligerents may not in the Canal take in provisions or supplies except within strictly necessary quantities. The transit of the said vessels shall be effected within the briefest possible delay in accord with the rules in force, and without any stoppage except that which may result from the requirements of the service of the Canal. Their stay at Port Said and in the roadstead at Suez may not exceed twenty-four hours, except in case of forced detention. In such case they will be required to leave as soon as possible. An interval of twenty-four hours must always elapse between the departure of a belligerent vessel from a port of access of the Canal and the departure of a vessel belonging to the enemy. . . . In times of war the belligerent Powers shall neither land nor embark on the Canal or its ports of access either troops, munitions, or war material. But in case of an accidental impediment to the navigation of the Canal, the landing or embarking in the ports of access of troops in groups not exceeding one thousand men, with the corresponding war material, may be effected.”

In order to secure the due observance of the Treaty, the following provisions are made :—

“ The representatives in Egypt of the Powers signing the present Treaty will be intrusted with seeing to its execution. In view of any circumstances which threatens the security or the free passage of the Canal, they shall meet, on convocation by their senior member, in order to make the necessary inquiries. They shall make known to the Government of the Khedive the danger which they have recognized, in order that the latter may take measures to insure the protection and the free use of the Canal. They shall meet in any case once a year, in order to ascertain that the present Treaty has been duly executed. They shall specially demand the suppression of every work or the dispersion of any assemblage which on either bank of the Canal might have the effect of interfering with the liberty and the entire security of navigation. The Egyptian Government shall take within the limits of its powers, as constituted under the firmans, the necessary measures to secure respect for the execution of the said Treaty. In the event of the Egyptian Government not having at its disposal sufficient means, it must appeal to the Sublime Porte, which shall concert with the other Powers signing the declaration of London, dated March 17, 1885, with a view of determining by common accord the measures to be taken in response to this appeal.”

The Convention dealing with the question of the New Hebrides confirmed once more the joint undertakings of 1878 and 1883, and provided that any action which might be necessary to maintain order in the islands should be taken by British and French vessels in combination. The French military posts were abandoned ; and the British Government withdrew the objection which it had previously made to the extension of French sovereignty in the Tahiti Group.

Another difficulty with France has arisen out of disagreements between her fishermen and those of Newfoundland. For over a hundred years the French have had rights of easement on the Newfoundland coast, where also they own one or two small islands. The Newfoundland Assembly recently passed a measure of which the effect was (as alleged) to prevent French fishermen from obtaining bait. This Act, as it appeared to contravene the rights secured to France by treaty, was disallowed by the Colonial Secretary, and Newfoundland warmly protested against the refusal to support its contention. France, which grants a bounty of 75 per cent. on the produce of the deep-sea fisheries in those waters, regards the matter as one of considerable importance.

Amongst the questions of leading interest in **The United Canada** during the year 1887 there was one **States and Canada** which had a special bearing upon the relations between Great Britain and the United States. The Fishery disputes on the east coast of Canada were only a recrudescence of ancient troubles. Canadians have long been persuaded that the United States are very hard to hold to their undertakings in the matter of fishing rights, and they have not always been convinced that Great Britain has done her best for them as their champion. They have complained, for instance, that in the Treaty of Washington Canadian claims did not receive adequate consideration, and they also accused the United States fishermen and customs officials of systematic sharp dealing, so as to rob them even of the advantages which they ought to possess. Thus the Treaty declared that fish, fish oils, canned fish, and fish for immediate consumption, were to cross the frontier into the United States free of duty; but no sooner

was the Treaty ratified than the custom house officers, in contradiction of their own printed tariffs, refused to call the whale a fish, and charged for fish packed in ice as a "manufactured article." Canada asks the mother country to deal with the States as a nation capable of interpreting treaties in a non-natural sense, and to take care that the new engagements shall bind them more effectually than the old. A Joint Commission, including representatives from the three countries, began its sittings at Washington in November. (See also under *United States*, 1887.)

Closely allied with this question is that of a proposed fiscal union between the two great nations of North America, as an alternative to the commercial policy hitherto pursued by Sir John Macdonald's Government. There was reciprocity between them from 1854 to 1865, when the United States saw fit to denounce the Treaty. There are now many persons on both sides of the frontier who advocate an unfettered free trade, with a common protective tariff against the other quarters of the globe. Some couple this with the cry for annexation; some vigorously maintain that it would be consistent with undiminished loyalty on the part of Canada towards Great Britain. Amongst the former are shrewd and plausible persons who contend that Canada has high and manifest destinies, which can never be fulfilled so long as she is in tutelage to Britain—that the Home Government is neither able nor willing to fight for Canada as Canada could (commercially) fight for her own hand—that the Fisheries dispute is only one case in point—and so forth. It is not yet, however, quite clear that there is a very large party in the Dominion which favours either the half-way policy of fiscal union or the straightforward policy of annexation. But it is likely enough that

both one and the other of these two ideas will be used from time to time in order to stimulate the zeal of the mother country.

Another event of the year which less directly bears upon the relations between the British Empire and the United States was the attempt of Manitoba to carry out its previously asserted intention to establish more direct communication with the States. In the month of August it was reported that the Manitobans were on the point of effecting a junction between their local lines and those of the Republic. Now the Canadian Constitution gives exclusive authority to each Province in regard to "local works and undertakings other than lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs, and other works or undertakings connecting the Province with any other Province, or extending beyond the limits of the Province." It is clear, therefore, that the Act of Confederation distinctly withheld the power which Manitoba now sought to exercise; and in addition to this argument the Dominion Government urged that the contemplated action would be highly detrimental to the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had been completed at an immense cost, as a national policy for the development of the Dominion as a whole. On these grounds the Governor-General disallowed the Bill which had been passed by the Manitoban Assembly, and the dispute between the Dominion and the Province threatened at one time to assume proportions which might have demanded the intervention of the Imperial Government.

An important indication of the decentralising tendency in Canada was afforded in November by the meeting of a Conference of Provincial

Decentralisation.

Governors, at which a series of rather sweeping constitutional changes was brought under discussion. The substance of the resolutions adopted at this Conference was as follows:—1. To remove the veto power from the hands of the Federal Executive, and vest it in the hands of her Majesty in Council, as before the Confederation. 2. The Constitution of the Dominion Senate to be amended in this manner—"That henceforth all vacancies are to be filled by persons selected by the Provinces for a limited term of years until the Provincial nominees constitute one-half of the Senate; then the vacancies as they arise to be filled if among Crown nominees by the Crown, and if among the Provincial nominees by the Provinces, so that the Senate may consist of one-half of Crown nominees and one-half of Provincial nominees." 3. The Provinces shall assume control of provincial works and railways which the Dominion Government of late years has taken under its jurisdiction. 4. The Dominion Franchise Act to be abolished, and the provincial franchise and voters' lists to be used in Dominion elections. 5. Provision to be made for the abolition of the Upper Houses in those Provinces possessing them. 6. The financial arrangement at present existing between the Dominion and the Provinces to be altered. 7. "That having regard to the agitation on the subject of the trade relations between the Dominion and the United States, this Conference, consisting of representatives of all political parties, desires to record its opinion that unrestricted reciprocity would be of advantage to all the Provinces of the Dominion; that the Conference and all the people it represents cherish fervent loyalty to her Majesty the Queen, and warm attachment to the British connection, and are of opinion that a fair measure providing, under

proper conditions, for unrestricted reciprocity of trade relations between the Dominion and the United States would not lessen these sentiments, but, on the contrary, serve to increase them, and at the same time in connection with the fisheries dispute tend happily to settle the grave difficulties which have from time to time arisen between the mother country and the United States."

The movement reported from Nova Scotia in favour of secession from the Dominion, and reversion to the status of a Crown colony, is apparently due to the financial burdens of the Province, which (as it thinks) might be reduced if it could retrace the step taken in 1867. There is not much of a disquieting character in this agitation, especially in view of the fact that the last elections to the Federal Parliament were won by candidates favouring the *status quo*; but it has an interest as one of several practical illustrations of the difficulties inseparable from federal institutions.

Mr. Goldwin Smith has described Canada as **Canadian** a Federal Republic with a false front of Politics. monarchy. He thinks that this "false front," represented by the Governor-General and the influence of the British Crown, "veils the dangers of democracy, and makes people fancy that they have safeguards when they have none. It makes them also acquiesce in the exercise by a party leader of powers which they would not dream of allowing him to exercise in his own name." * Such powers are "the uncontrolled appointment of the members of one branch of the Legislature," the exercise of the prerogative of dissolution to suit party purposes, independent of the vote of Parliament (whether of the Dominion Parliament or

* *Contemporary Review*, July, 1887.

of the provincial Legislatures), the ability to arrange a redistribution of seats and modification of the franchise, also for party purposes, and, generally, to manipulate the authority of the Governor-General (by the bestowal of honours or otherwise), unrestrained by public opinion.

Without relying altogether on this judgment, it is clear that the above-mentioned dangers actually exist in the Canadian Constitution—as they must in any constitution where an external monarchical form is not fully counter-balanced by a sturdy public opinion in a democratic sense. The contrast between the United States and Canada in this respect is very strong, and the conclusion is not that the States Constitution would be more suitable for Canada, but that Canada suffers through the want of a strong counter-balancing public opinion. There is more centralization in Canada than in the United States; the Government has a greater power of intervention; the criminal law of the whole Dominion is in its hands, as well as the law of marriage and divorce, and the appointment of judges, governors, and life-senatorships. In these and other minor points the Constitution of Canada differs from that of her neighbour on the south; so that, with less of local self-government, and more of party manipulation from the centre, the Dominion is held by some to occupy an unstable position.

As the Canadians have copied the British Parliamentary system, so their parties are divided to some extent by the British lines of cleavage. The Conservatives (who have been in power for many years) talk most of the imperial connection, of federation with the mother country, and of protection for internal industries, whilst titular honours seem to fall in their way, or are accepted by them, more

frequently than is the case with their opponents. The Liberals, or Grits, are more democratic, and can speak and think with more coolness about ultimate independence. Since the insurrection of Louis Riel they have been in sympathy with the French; whilst in regard to protection the majority of the party have practically adopted the Conservative policy. The Irish party is very strong; the Roman Catholics represent more than one-third of the entire population; the Methodists, who stand next, can act together if occasion requires; and the Prohibitionists, the greatest of the parties having special political aims, are becoming more thoroughly organized every year.

The difficulty of British relations with Russia, **Russia** and arising out of the approximation of **Russian India**. conquests to the Indian Empire, are of long standing; but there is reason to think that the delimitation of the Afghan frontier, finally settled at St. Petersburg in 1887, will be followed by a better state of feeling between the two countries, as well as amongst the inhabitants of the district lately in dispute. Great Britain has now no cause of quarrel with Russia. Meanwhile the Indian Government has received from two or three of the native Princes very generous offers of treasure for the express purpose of strengthening the fortifications of the north-west frontier.

A somewhat serious difficulty arose at the **South Cape** out of a Registration Act passed in 1887, **Africa**. which in one of its clauses practically disfranchised a large number of Kaffir, Fingo, and Hottentot voters. The facts of the matter are simple. The Constitution Ordinance of 1853 confers a joint occupation vote wherever "the total value of the premises, when divided by the number of joint occupiers, shall yield for every joint occupier" an annual

value of £25. Now the 17th section of the Act of 1887 declares that "no person shall be entitled to be registered as a voter by reason of his sharing in any communal or tribal occupation." A considerable number of natives have, as a matter of fact, been put upon the registers for communal or tribal occupation, and by the new Act they are deprived of their votes. Their case is hard, even if they were not originally entitled to be placed on the registers; and in regard to this point there has been some difference of opinion. "Communal or tribal occupation" implies the joint occupation of a Government "location" or reserve. The members of these communities are subject to the laws of the Colony, occupying plots of land, and paying taxes; but there would manifestly be a difficulty in proving the £25 qualification. The Cape Government considered that the voting of the location natives (as distinguished from individual native settlers, whether single or joint occupiers) had been attended by great abuses, and that the stricter interpretation of the Ordinance of 1853 was necessary in the public interest; and they strongly insisted upon their local legislative responsibility. The Home Government was urged, on behalf of the disfranchised natives, to disallow the Act, but it was unwilling to dispute the competence of the Cape Legislature in a matter of constitutional interpretation and declared public policy, especially after the leading politicians of the Cape had gone so far as to state that the disallowance of the Act would "be found to involve the question of free government."

The tendency towards union in the various South African States has recently declared itself in a somewhat conspicuous manner. In August the Cape Assembly discussed and approved a proposal for a conference with the Republic and

Free State, intended to pave the way for a Customs Union. In October the Presidents of the two Boer States met at Bloemfontein and discussed a proposal to effect a junction through the Orange territory of the Delagoa Bay railway with a Cape line running southwards from the frontier to the sea. At this meeting President Brand spoke favourably of the idea of Confederation, declaring that it had been brought within the domain of practical politics by the recent discoveries of gold. In the meantime the new Republic of Zululand has been absorbed by the Transvaal Republic; and the remainder of the country has been annexed by Great Britain. In Natal a demand has been formulated for the concession of a separate "responsible government." A motion to this effect in the Legislative Council was from motives of policy withheld from discussion.

In New South Wales, legislative action has been taken for the establishment of a more **Australia.** comprehensive system of local government. A Bill providing for the payment of members of the Assembly was rejected in the Council by a vote of 30 to 9; and another, extending the grounds of divorce so as to include desertion, cruelty, habitual drunkenness, and conviction of crime, separately or combined, was reserved for Her Majesty's consideration—as is usual with all Bills touching upon matters of religious controversy. The financial policy of the Colony is reverting to the free trade principles of which it was formerly a staunch supporter, although the discussion is still vigorously maintained. In the summer session 120 lines were struck out of the tariff of *ad valorem* duties, and it has since been declared that public confidence has been established, and that the prospects of the country are full of encouragement.

In Victoria the protective system has been further strengthened, additional duties being laid on timber, sugar, and other imported articles. Attempts have been made to pave the way for intercolonial free trade in Australasia, combined with protection as against all other countries. Victorian politics have been lively if not important. The most interesting measure which came under discussion in the Assembly was one for the amendment of the criminal law, based on a Massachusetts Act which permits the courts, dealing with juvenile offenders under twenty-one years of age, to release them on recognizances after a first conviction, on condition that if convicted a second time they may be punished for the first offence.

The financial condition of New Zealand presents a very serious aspect. Revenue has diminished, and it has been found necessary to effect retrenchments in the ordinary expenditure to the amount of £300,000. This saving was contrived by a reduction of the salaries and allowances of the Governors and Ministers, and of the number of Ministers. The number of members of the House of Representatives and their pay are also cut down, and the same steps are being taken with the Civil Service. The cost of the departments generally, including those of Education and Defence, is to be reduced. Another form of proposed retrenchment is to curtail the subsidies to local bodies, and to repeal the Crown and Native Land Rating Act. Reductions amounting to £71,000 only are possible during the current year, but with this saving, and with an increase of the property tax to one penny, the deficit in March next is estimated at £400,000. Meanwhile the Government brought in measures dealing with the transfer of land, the self-adjustment of Parliamentary representation

on the basis of population, and the reform of the Legislative Council.

From Western Australia, as from Natal, the demand has come for "responsible government," the Legislative Council having passed a resolution to that effect by 13 votes to 4, the Governor assenting. In view of this demand from the actual Government of the Colony, a very interesting point is raised in reference to the general principles on which the development of the British Colonies has proceeded. The right of colonists gradually to expand their system of government in the direction of autonomy, and their further right gradually to absorb and appropriate the land which they govern, are fully admitted. The Imperial Government has never sought to withhold from established responsible governments the free exercise of a disposing power over the land. At most it has made stipulations in the interest of a section of the population, as in the case of the clergy reserves in Canada. In the Act of 1855 establishing responsible government in Victoria, it was expressly laid down that the entire use and control of the uncultivated lands belonging to the Crown in the said Colony, and of their products, including all royalties, mines, and minerals, should be conferred upon the Legislature of the Colony, from the day of the first issue of writs for the election of the new legislative body. This Act may be considered a precedent for the case of Western Australia; and no doubt it would be a precedent in the actual conferment of responsible government. But the circumstances of Victoria in 1855 were very different from the present circumstances of the petitioning Colony. The land was a fairly settled and prosperous part of New South Wales; it had a comparatively wealthy population of about 225,000, on an

area of 87,880 square miles. The European population of Western Australia is now about 35,000, on an area of 975,000 square miles, which gives 2,785 square miles to each man, woman, and child. The grant of responsible government implies the transfer of this vast territory into the possession and control of a comparatively small number of persons, and this is clearly not a thing to be lightly or hastily done. Another objection which might be raised to the ceding of a Constitution at this moment is that it would deprive the Home Government of an immense field of emigration—one of the last of such fields remaining under direct British influence. The commerce of the mother country is heavily taxed by one constitutional colony after another. The area of the world open to our overcrowded population, it is urged, contracts very rapidly. "The United States have given us very distinctly to understand that they have no intention of helping us in the matter. Emigrants against whose character not a word could be said have been refused admission merely because their passages were paid with public money. And, if the self-governing colonies have not yet gone as far as this, there have not been wanting very significant signs that any attempt to organize emigration on a large scale will be strenuously resisted." At any rate the demand of Western Australia scarcely seems so strong as to render it necessary to accede to it before careful consideration has been given to the objections indicated.

Malta. The promise of a new Constitution for Malta has been fulfilled, and the Colony now enjoys a more liberal form of representative government, though not wholly in accord with the wishes of the Maltese. In the autumn of 1886 a draft scheme was considered by

the Colonial Office, but on the advice of the highest officials in Malta it was rejected. A year later, after the opinions of the native population had been expressed in its favour, it was revived in an amended form—one change being to the effect that the Governor should preside over the sittings of the representative body, and the other providing that in the Maltese constituencies each elector should be entitled to vote for no more than two-thirds of the candidates. Gozo was to be treated as a separate constituency. These proposals were not favourably received by the inhabitants, on whose behalf it was pointed out that the qualified system of voting by list was an innovation on the methods hitherto established in British colonies, and was open to abuse. The revised scheme, however, has been adopted.

In addition to the Acts mentioned elsewhere, **General** (two for Ireland, one for the Isle of Man, one **Legisla-** for Trinidad and Tobago) there may be mentioned **tion.** —amongst measures relating to Scotland, an Act to facilitate the establishment of Technical Schools in Scotland, an Act to amend the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886; an Act to simplify and amend the criminal law of Scotland, an Act to provide for the earlier closing of premises licensed for the sale of exciseable liquors in Scotland, and an Act to amend the Secretary for Scotland Act, 1885; amongst measures relating to the working classes, an Act to amend the law relating to Truck, an Act to facilitate the provision of Allotments, an Act to amend the Friendly Societies Act, 1875, and an Act to consolidate with amendments the Coal Mines Acts, 1872 and 1886; an Act to permit the conditional release of first offenders in certain cases, an Act for appointing commissioners to inquire and report as to the boundaries of certain areas of Local Government in

England, an Act to amend the Copyhold Acts ; with others, making in all 73 public general Acts, or Chapters, passed between March 29 and September 16, in the session 50 and 51 Victoria (or session 2 of 50 Victoria, and session 1 of 51 Victoria).

To these 73 *public general* Acts (a number below the average, on account of the length of time consumed in discussing some of the more important) must be added 204 *local, personal, and private* Acts, which may be classified as follows :*—Bridges and Ferries, 2 ; Canals, Rivers, Navigations, Tunnels, and Subways, 9 ; Charitable Foundations, 1 ; Drainages and Drainage Embankments, 3 ; Estates 1 ; Fisheries, 1 ; Gaslight Companies, 13 ; Harbours, Docks, Ports, Piers, Quays, &c., 16 ; Improvements in Towns, Municipal and County and Local Government Matters, Markets, &c., 39 ; Personal Affairs, 4 ; Railways, 70 ; Trading and other Companies, 13 ; Tramways, 18 ; Turnpike and other Roads, 3 ; Water Companies, 10 ; Provisional Orders Confirmation, 86. There are other headings which might in any particular year be represented in such a classification—as, for instance, Ecclesiastical Affairs, Electric Light Powers, Inclosures of Commons, and Parish Affairs.

It has been frequently urged that the time of Parliament is occupied with a vast amount of work which might safely be thrown upon local representative bodies. The list above given supports the contention. It would not be difficult to indicate the classes of public Acts of a local character which must, on any system of devolution, be reserved for Parliamentary discussion.

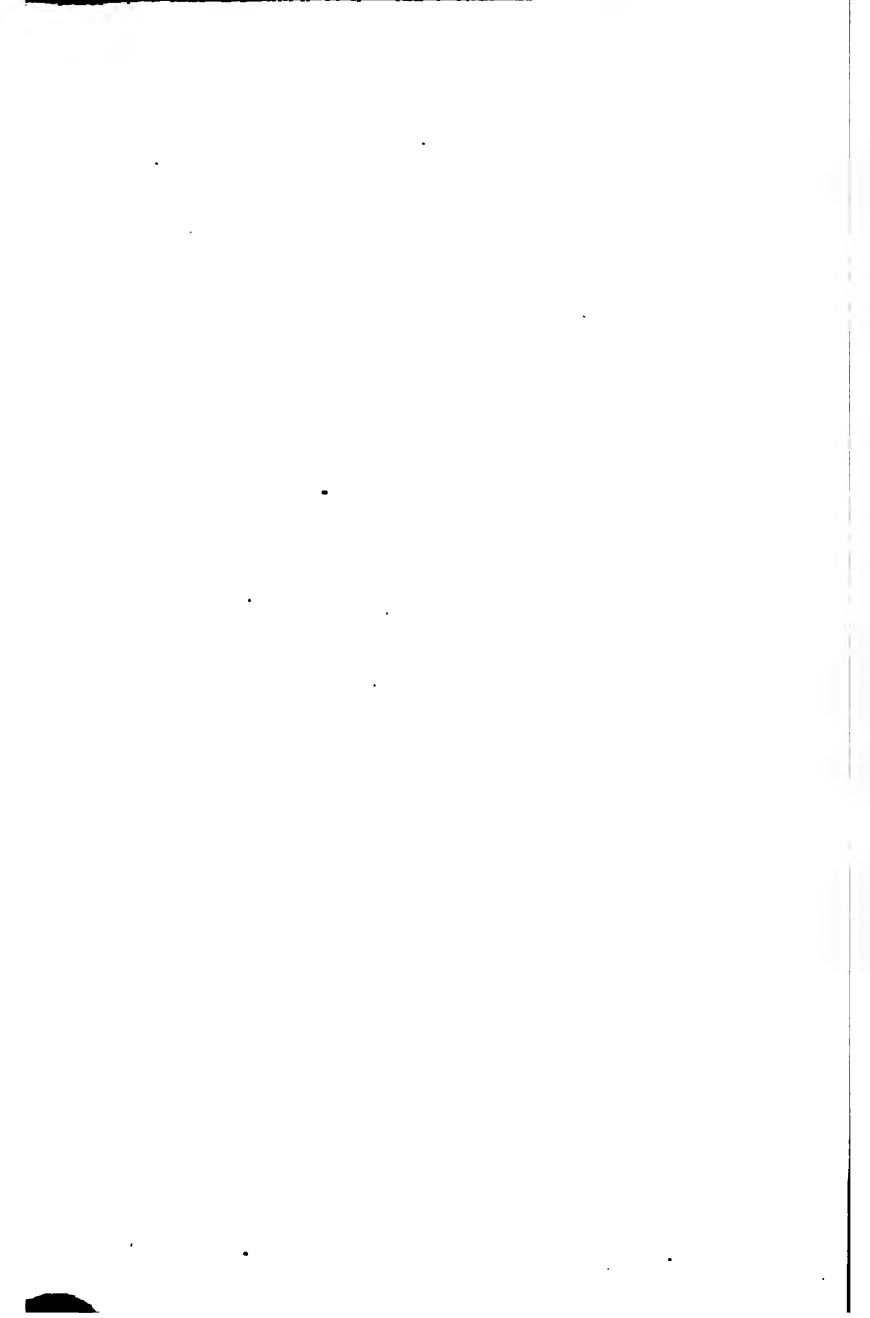
* See "The Public General Statutes" for 1887. Some of these Acts are included in more than one category. The total number is 204.

The most important reform of administrative procedure introduced in the past year is that effected in the War Department. As explained by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons, the new scheme divides the War Office into two great branches—the military and civil. The Commander-in-Chief, subject to the control of the Secretary of State, remains at the head of the military branch. His immediate subordinates will be five in number—the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, the Director of Artillery, the Inspector-General of Fortifications, and the Military Secretary. The Adjutant-General, as Deputy of the Commander-in-Chief, will be responsible for the discipline and efficiency of the troops, and will control all the departments of the national forces, including the Pay and Intelligence Departments. The Quartermaster-General will be charged with complete responsibility for transport and commissariat in peace and war. The Commissariat Department will thus in time be completely transformed from a civilian into a military department. The Director-General of Artillery will be relieved of all responsibility for the manufacture of stores. The manufacturing department will in future be conducted, as far as possible, on a commercial basis, the principle being to select the best man who can be obtained for the particular post, whether he be a soldier or a civilian. The Director of Artillery will retain all the duties connected with the approval of designs, and he will furthermore be responsible for the inspection of all armaments and war-like stores, but he will no longer have anything to do with their manufacture. He will be subject to the financial control of the War Office, but in respect of his specific duties his responsibility will be undivided. The Inspector-

General, in like manner, will be responsible to the Commander-in-Chief for the specific duties of his post, and subject to the War Office in financial matters. The Military Secretary will, as before, control promotions and appointments.

On the civil side of the War Office the chief official next to the Secretary of State will be the Financial Secretary, who, with his permanent financial assistants, will undertake the financial responsibility for all the departments of the War Office, including the examination and audit of accounts. It is intended that this official shall exercise greater responsibility and greater power than heretofore, and, being less overweighted with detail, he will find more time to grapple with questions of expenditure. The other chief officials of the civil branch will be the Director of Contracts, with functions not materially changed, though with a more open system of tenders, and the chiefs of the manufacturing and clothing departments. In order to secure joint action between all branches of the War Office, and full discussion of all matters of importance, it is proposed that the heads of the military and civil departments should, when necessary, meet as a council under the Secretary of State.

REPUBLICS.



REPUBLICS.

ANDORRA.

THE Republic of Andorra is situated in a valley of the Pyrenees, and is under the co-suzerainty of France and the Bishop of Urgel, in Spain. It claims to have enjoyed independence since the time of Charlemagne, and to have received a charter from Louis le Débonnaire; but this instrument, if existing, has not been committed to print. The First Republic abandoned its suzerainty as a relic of feudalism, but in 1806 the former state of things was restored. In 1882 the French Government placed the exercise of its powers of supervision in the hands of the préfet of the Department of Pyrénées-Orientales, with the préfet of Prades as its *ex-officio* representative in the Republican Council.

Andorra is divided into six communes or parishes, which are represented in a Council of twenty-four members, charged with the general administration of affairs, and with the maintenance of the local laws and customs. The Council is elected every four years, and chooses its own president or syndic. France and the Bishop alternately nominate a civil Judge, who is assisted in his judicial functions by two vicars, on the same nomination.

Area, 180 square miles; population, about 6,600.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

The Argentine Republic or Confederation (Republica Argentina; capital, Buenos Aires) was formerly a part of the vice-royalty of Peru, and afterwards of the Provincias Unidas del Rio de la Plata, including Paraguay and Uruguay. It has been independent since 1816, and has had wars with Brazil (1826-8), France (1838-40), and Paraguay (1865-70), as well as sundry civil commotions.

The country lies to the east of Chili, having Bolivia and Paraguay on the north, Brazil and Uruguay on the east, and extending its sovereignty to the southern extremity of the continent.

Area of the self-governed Provinces, 515,700 square miles, and of the Territories, 609,614 square miles. Population—Provinces, about 3,250,000; Territories, 3,000,000.

GOVERNMENT.

A Federal Constitution was adopted in 1853, after which the Province of Buenos Aires, being dissatisfied with its position, and espousing the cause of Rosas against the Dictator Urquiza, seceded from the Confederation, and established itself as an independent State. After a war between the Province and the Confederation, in which the former was finally successful, the country was re-united, and a revised Constitution was drawn up in 1860.

The President and Vice-President (who must be Roman Catholics, and of Argentine birth) are elected for six years, each constituency returning for that purpose twice the number of its ordinary representatives. The President (with a salary of £6,000) is incapable of re-election for a second term. The powers of the President are in many respects similar to those of the United States President.

He wields the executive authority, and appoints all civil, military, and judicial officers. He is also Commander-in-Chief of the forces, though not always a military officer.

There are fourteen Provinces—Buenos Aires, containing more than a third of the population, Santa Fé, Entre Rios, Corrientes, Rioja, Catamarca, San Juan, Mendoza, Cordova, San Luis, Santiago del Estero, Tucuman, Salta, and Jujuy.

The Legislature of each Province elects two Senators for nine years, and the capital also elects two, making a total of thirty, the Senate being renewed by thirds every three years. The qualification for candidates is an income of £100, and six years' enrolment as citizens of the Republic; no one being eligible under the age of thirty. Senators receive a salary of five thousand dollars (£1,000). The Vice-President (salary, £3,000) is *ex-officio* chairman of the Senate.

The Deputies number at present eighty-six, which is considerably below the proportion to population stipulated in the Constitution (one to 20,000). There is no property qualification for candidates, but they must have been enrolled as citizens of the Republic for four years after attaining the age of twenty-one. The House of Deputies is renewed by halves every two years. There is thus no "general" election in the country, and no means of obtaining a complete national verdict on public questions, unless it be at the Presidential election. On the other hand, a partial election of Senators or Deputies must take place in five out of every seven years, so that practically a popular verdict is obtained more frequently than in countries where the elections are regular but not annual. Deputies receive the same salaries as Senators.

The Senate and House of Deputies together constitute the Legislative Congress of the Republic, and sit annually for five months from the 1st of May.

There are five Secretaries of State—for the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, War, and Justice—with departmental authority, the responsibility remaining with the President.

The Provinces are States with separate Legislatures and elective Governors, renewed every three years. They enjoy a full measure of local and municipal self-government, and in this respect are virtually independent of Congress, which confines itself to national affairs. It is evident that the Constitution was largely copied from that of the United States, though it has several distinct features.

The Territories are Misiones, Formosa, Chaco, Pampa, Rio Negro, Neuquen, Chupat (with its Welsh colony), Santa Cruz, and Tierra del Fuego. By an agreement with Chili in 1881, the Argentine Republic undertook the sovereignty of Patagonia, south of the Rio Negro, with the exception of the western slope of the Andes, which was taken by Chili. The government of the Territories is administered by the President and the Secretaries of State, to whom the local authorities are directly responsible.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and four other judges, and appeals lie to it from the local civil and criminal courts. The criminal code embodies trial by jury.

Education Public elementary education is supported in
and each Province by a provincial tax, and in the
Religion. Territories by a Government grant. In Buenos Aires and in the Territories it is free. The central Government also maintains a secondary public school in each Province, and two universities, with several technical and theological colleges, and normal schools. The expenditure of the State on education in 1887 was £1,349,170, which was nearly one-seventh of the total expenditure.

The established religion is Roman Catholic.

The heavy import and export duties yielded in 1887 about £6,114,000, or more than two-thirds of the total income. The total public debt, including, internal and external loans, and guaranteed bank issues, amounts to over £55,000,000. Tariff, &c.

BOLIVIA.

The Republic of Bolivia (capital, Chuquisaca), which declared its independence of Spain in 1825, is bounded by Peru (with which country it has long maintained a close alliance), Brazil, Paraguay, the Argentine, and Chili. To the last-named Republic it lost in 1881 its only sea-coast province, Autofogasta.

Area, about 770,000 square miles ; population, 1,400,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution was adopted in 1826, and has been modified on various subsequent occasions, but in its main features it is still what its author, Simon Bolivar, intended it to be—a rough copy from that of the United States.

The executive power is with the President, elected in the same years and for the same term as the President of the States, nominally by universal suffrage. Two Vice-Presidents are elected with him, and he is assisted by a Council of Ministers, charged with Foreign Affairs and Colonization, Finance, War, Justice, and the Interior.

There is a Congress of two Chambers, the Senate and the House of Representatives, also elected by universal suffrage. As a matter of fact, however, the elections have not been regularly held, and the terms during which the Presidents have held office have been very unequal.

There are nine Departments, each having a governor nominated by the President.

Barely 6 per cent. of the children attend the elementary schools; but Bolivia can boast of four universities. There is religious toleration, but the Roman Catholic worship is most commonly practised.

The expenditure considerably exceeds the revenue—the former approaching £660,000. Of the receipts about one-third is derived from customs, and one-third from a tribute paid by the aboriginal tribes. The public debt is about £2,500,000.

CHILI.

The Republic of Chili (capital, Santiago) became independent of Spain in 1818. It extends from Peru on the north to Cape Horn, a length of nearly 2,500 miles. Its neighbours are the Argentine Republic, Bolivia and Peru. The boundary with the Argentine Republic was settled in 1881, and with the other countries in 1883 (after the war of 1879–81), when Chili annexed the Peruvian province of Tarapaca, and Autofogasta, formerly the sea-coast province of Bolivia. The province of Tacna remains under Chilean government until 1893, when a popular vote is to decide whether it will revert to the possession of Peru.

Area, 300,000 square miles: population, 2,500,000; of which the foreign element (Peruvian, Bolivian, Germans, British, French, Argentines, &c.) numbers about 100,000.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution of Chili, adopted in 1833, was based in part on that of the United States. The Republic, though sometimes described as federal, is not so in the strictest sense, inasmuch as the provinces and territories are not

governed by elective executives and legislatures. Nevertheless, the provinces have local municipal government, and they are so far placed on an equality that each is represented in the Senate by two deputed members.

The executive government is vested in the President (salary, £3,600). The legislature consists of two elective chambers, a Senate and a House of Deputies, together constituting a National Congress. The judiciary however, has not the interpreting authority in constitutional matters assigned to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The President is elected by indirect popular suffrage—delegates being chosen for the purpose by ballot of the full electorate, and subsequently voting according to their mandate. The election is held every five years, and second terms are not lawful. The President's responsibility is shared by a Council of State—a body possibly taken from the French model, though only five out of eleven members are nominated by the President himself, the remaining six being chosen by Congress. The Councillors of State are not paid officials, and their responsibility is secured mainly by the power of impeachment.

There is in addition the usual Ministerial Council, which includes five Secretaries of State—for Foreign Affairs, the Interior, Finance, War (coupled with Justice), and Public Worship and Instruction.

The Senate, as already stated, is a body of forty members, two from each of the twenty provinces, as follows :

Aconcagua	Arauco	Atacama	Biobio
Chiloe	Colchagua	Concepcion	Coquimbo
Curicoe	Llanquihue	Linares	Maule
Nuble	O'Higgins	Santiago	Tacna
Talca	Tarapaca	Valdivia	Valparaiso

The Senators are elected every six years by cumulative voting. They are not paid, and candidates must prove a qualification equivalent to about £400 a year.

The present number of Deputies is 115. They are elected every three years by the Departments, at a stated ratio of one for every 20,000 of the population. They also are unpaid, and must have an income of not less than £100 a year. The electors are the same for both Chambers. They must have attained the age of 25 (or, if married, 21), and there is a qualification, adjusted every 10 years, of property or earned income.

For local administration the Provinces are subdivided into Departments, and these again into more than 400 sub-delegations, and over 1,000 districts. The Provinces are governed by intendentes nominated by the President; and the Departments by governors nominated in the same manner. The governors appoint sub-delegates to administer the cantonal divisions, and the sub-delegates appoint inspectors over the communal districts. The town districts have an elective municipal government, the elections taking place every three years, and they have contracted up to this time an aggregate municipal debt approaching to £600,000.

The three Territories of Angol, Autofogasta, and Magelanes, are under probationary government by the State authorities.

Judicial Administration. The judicial power is vested in the Supreme Court, composed of six members, resident in Santiago, who have no political functions. In 1881 a law was passed establishing the incompatibility of the judicial and legislative functions. The Supreme Court is occupied chiefly with cases of real estate, war claims, and criminal cases. Ordinary cases are tried before justices

of the peace (one in each Department). There are also four courts of appeal, sitting in Serena, Santiago (2), and Concepcion. In Santiago and other thickly populated departments, there are two, four, or even six, justices of the peace, civil and criminal. Chili is fortunate in possessing a codification of her laws. The civil code was promulgated in 1858, and the commercial code, penal code, code of mines, code of organization of tribunals, etc., followed in order. The civil code is taken largely from the Code Napoléon, and the military code from the ordinances of Spain.

Education in Chili is free and compulsory, **Education** being supported by the State. In the budget **and** of 1886 the cost of Justice, Public Worship, and **Religion:** Education, was placed under the same head, and amounted to £802,360. The schools are divided into three grades, superior, intermediate, and primary. Santiago is the seat of the national university, which has five faculties and a council of higher public education, which superintends the higher and intermediate schools of the country. These schools are free, and have their own buildings, apparatus, etc. The principal one is in Santiago, founded in 1818, and called the National Institute. In the provinces the superior schools take the name of *liceos*. There are also normal and technical schools, schools of agriculture, naval and military colleges, and academies of painting and music, as well as a national library and various museums. The elementary schools number about 770, with an average attendance approaching 50,000.

The Roman Catholic religion is supported by the State, but others are tolerated. The Catholic archbishop and three bishops are nominated and paid by the State, subject to confirmation by the Pope. The clergy also are paid out

of State funds—but these funds do not amount to as much as the ecclesiastical revenues formerly appropriated to State purposes. It is estimated that the total number of native priests does not exceed fifty, the remainder coming from Spain and Italy. The separation of Church and State appears to be impending. In the meantime the law recognises civil marriages only.

Finance. According to the budget of 1886 the total receipts were £9,176,000 (including a surplus of over £2,000,000, from 1885), and the total expenditure, £6,739,500. The foreign debt is £6,746,700, and the interior debt, including an issue of paper money during the war with Peru and Bolivia, £9,984,000.

COLOMBIA.

The Federal Republic of Colombia (capital, Santa Fé de Bogota), originally called the United States of Colombia, was formed out of the previously existing kingdom of New Granada, by the combination in 1861 of the following nine States :—

Antioquia	Bolivar	Boyaca	Cauca
Cundinamarca	Magdalena	Panama	Santander
Tolima			

Colombia extends from Costa Rica to the boundaries of Venezuela, Brazil, and Ecuador, and its importance depends mainly on the commercial significance of the narrow isthmus of Panama, which is crossed by a railway from ocean to ocean (Panama to Aspinwall), and which is now in course of being pierced for a ship canal. A considerable part of the channel of 46 miles has been excavated or levelled, and upwards of twenty-five millions sterling have been expended on the works. It is possible that the political status of

Panama will be greatly changed when the canal is open for the passage of large vessels. It is already proposed in anticipation of this that the State of Panama should be taken under the central government of the Republic—whilst some have thus early spoken of neutralization.

Area, about 500,000 square miles ; population, over 3,000,000, of whom about a quarter of a million are the earlier inhabitants known as "Indios."

There was a civil war in 1876-7.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution of Colombia, adopted in 1861 and revised in 1886, is one of the numerous copies of the United States model. The chief of the executive is the President, elected by universal suffrage ; but his term of office is unusually short, being limited to two years. He has the assistance of a Council of seven Ministers, in charge of the principal administrative departments, they being directly responsible to Congress. Congress also, as in several other States of South America, nominates three prominent men (usually the candidates next in order to the President at the time of his election), as *designados* to fill any vacancy which may occur during the biennial term, and thus avoid the evil of too frequent contests for the supreme authority.

Legislature is intrusted to a Congress of two Chambers, the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate has 27 members, being three for each of the nine constituent States, irrespective of their population. The House of Representatives includes at present 66 members, who are returned by the several States, at the rate of one deputy for the first 50,000 inhabitants, and one for every additional 20,000, or portion of 20,000.

The State Legislatures are on the same model, and the State Presidents are also elective. The suffrage is virtually universal (on a basis of fixed residence) throughout. It will be seen that the organization of government in Colombia approaches more nearly to that of the United States than that of any other South American Republic.

The revenue of 1886 was estimated at 5,104,000 pesos, or (nominally) £1,020,800, and the expenditure at £800,000. But there has not for some years past been an excess of revenue over expenditure, and the interest on debt is much in arrear. Foreign debt, nearly £2,900,000; internal debt, considerably over £3,000,000.

COSTA RICA.

The Republic of Costa Rica (capital, San José) has had a separate existence from the year 1839. (See *Guatemala*.) It is a small country between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, with an area of about 21,000 square miles. The population is 210,000, of which some 70,000 are "Indios." Only a small part of the surface of the land is capable of cultivation. The northern boundary has been in dispute with Nicaragua, and the southern boundary with Colombia, both disputes having been referred for arbitration to the President of Guatemala.

GOVERNMENT.

The government of Costa Rica is similar to, though not identical with, that of Guatemala. Seven editions of the Constitution were promulgated between 1859 and 1871, and the last was practically suspended for over ten years. Regular elections, however, have been held in 1882, 1884, and 1886.

The President is now elected by popular vote every four years. The Executive power is in his hands, and he is assisted by two Vice-Presidents and a Council, including Ministers of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs, Justice and Worship, of Commerce and Finance, and of War and Marine.

There is now no Second Chamber, or Upper House, in Costa Rica.

The Chamber of Deputies is elected by universal suffrage, at the rate of one member for every 10,000 of the population. The constituencies return one member each. Half of the Chamber is renewed every two years, and the mode of election is by public assemblies of the voters in each district.

The country is divided into six Departments, of which two, San José and Cartago, contain more than half the population, and a still larger proportion of the wealth and enterprise of Costa Rica.

The judges are appointed by the President in Council, subject, however, to a vote of the Assembly.

The elementary schools are supported by the Education State, and the average attendance appears to and be considerably higher than in Guatemala— Religion. about one-half of the children of school age being on the rolls. The State religion is Roman Catholic, but others are tolerated.

The finances of Costa Rica are in a very unsatisfactory condition. The country has been Finance. virtually bankrupt for some time past, and, with decreasing trade and increasing taxes, the revenue is considerably below the expenditure. The revenue in 1886 was about £477,400, of which one-third was produced by the tobacco

and brandy monopolies, and the remainder from customs and taxation. Public debt, £2,890,000.

ECUADOR.

The Republic of Ecuador (capital, Quito), formerly a part of the kingdom of New Granada, which was liberated from Spain by Simon Bolivar, dissolved its connection with its neighbours in 1830. It is separated from Colombia in part by the equator, and has the empire of Brazil on the east, and Peru on the south.

Area, about 248,370 square miles. Population, about one million, of whom more than half are pure "Indios."

There was a civil war in 1883.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution was adopted in 1830, and has been revised on several occasions. The President is elected every four years, by indirect vote—nine hundred Presidential electors being chosen by suffrage of the settled population, depending on educational and religious (Roman Catholic) tests. A Vice-President is elected at the same time. The President is assisted by a Prime Minister, who is also Minister of the Interior, and three other Cabinet Ministers. There is also a Council of State, composed of the Ministers above named and seven others, with the Vice-President as its President. (The last election of President was made by Congress, apparently without a popular vote, in the emergency of civil war.)

The Senate includes 16 members, two being returned for each of the eight Provinces, and is renewed by halves every two years. The House of Deputies includes 30 members, returned by the same suffrage as that fixed for

the election of Presidential electors, in the ratio of one for every 30,000 of the inhabitants. The elections to this House are biennial.

The Constitution of Ecuador somewhat strictly limits the power of the President, who cannot veto a law, nor shorten the ordinary session of Congress, which meets annually, without summons, on the 10th of June.

There is a Supreme Court of Justice in Quito, with four Courts of Appeal in the Provinces; also district courts and justices of the peace for minor criminal cases.

The State religion is Roman Catholic, and other forms are not tolerated. Ecuador, in fact, is the most loyal in religion of the old Catholic States of South America, and it continues to send a tithe of its ecclesiastical revenues to Rome. Education, however, is comparatively neglected. Tithes are levied on the inhabitants for the service of the Church, but about 30 per cent. of the amount is taken for the use of the State.

The estimated revenue for 1886 was £369,750, of which the greater part was derived from customs. Expenditure, £484,280. Public debt, over three millions and a quarter.

FRANCE.

The Republic of France (capital, Paris) has for neighbours the Kingdom of Spain, the two Great Powers, Italy and Germany, the Republic of Switzerland, the guaranteed Kingdom of Belgium, and the territory of Luxemburg, which was formally neutralized by the Treaty of London in 1867. The northern boundary of France is the English Channel, about 21 miles from England at its narrowest part. The present republican form of government was proclaimed Sept. 4, 1870. Pretenders to the

throne exist in the persons of Legitimist and Bonapartist princes.

The area, according to the census of 1886, is 204,177 square miles—a decrease of 5,403 square miles having taken place after the war with Germany in 1870–1. Population, 38,218,903—the loss of population in 1870–1 being recovered for the first time in 1886. Average population to the square mile, 187.

The 87 Departments (including the district of Belfort) are as follows :—

Ain	Aisne	Allier
Basses-Alpes	Hautes-Alpes	Alpes-Maritimes
Ardèche	Ardennes	Ariège
Aube	Aude	Aveyron
Belfort	Bouches-du-Rhône	Calvados
Cantal	Charente	Charente-Inférieure
Cher	Corrèze	Corse
Côte-d'Or	Côtes-du-Nord	Creuse
Dordogne	Doubs	Drôme
Eure	Eure-et-Loire	Finistère
Gard	Haute-Garonne	Gers
Gironde	Hérault	Ile-et-Vilaine
Indre	Indre-et-Loire	Isère
Jura	Landes	Loir-et-Cher
Loire	Haute-Loire	Loire-Inférieure
Loiret	Lot	Lot-et-Garonne
Lozère	Maine-et-Loire	Manche
Marne	Haute-Marne	Mayenne
Meurthe-et-Moselle	Meuse	Morbihan
Nièvre	Nord	Oise
Orne	Pas-de-Calais	Puy-le-Dôme
Basses-Pyrénées	Hautes-Pyrénées	Pyrénées-Orientales
Rhône	Haute-Saône	Saône-et-Loire
Sarthe	Savoie	Haute-Savoie
Seine	Seine-Inférieure	Seine-et-Marne
Seine-et-Oise	Deux-Sèvres	Somme

Tarn	Tarn-et-Garonne	Var
Vaucluse	Vendée	Vienne
Haute-Vienne	Vosges	Yonne

Average area of the Departments, nearly 2,346 square miles. Belfort contains 235 square miles; Seine, including Paris, 184 square miles.

Average population in 1886, nearly 439,296; population of Seine, 2,961,089.

“Of the total population, 1,230,000 of the inhabitants of Brittany are estimated, unofficially, as speaking the Breton Celtic, and of these 768,000 are stated not to understand French. In the Pyrenean Departments are 116,000 Basques, and in Corsica and Nice about 300,000 Italian-speaking population.” *

GOVERNMENT.

The difference between the present Constitution of France and that of any other existing Republic rests mainly upon the facts that in this country four distinct attempts have been made within a hundred years to establish popular government on a durable basis, and that the struggle with the deep-rooted monarchical principle has not to this day been definitely brought to an end. In 1789 the Tiers État began the century of conflict with the old *régime*. In 1830 the fight with a restored monarchy was brief and inconclusive, resulting mainly in the substitution of one king for another. In 1848 the victory was somewhat more decisive, but within four years Cæsarism for the second time plucked the fruit of revolution. In 1870, on the morrow of Sedan, the Republic was proclaimed as the natural and inevitable alternative to the Empire, and for more than seventeen years since that time France has enjoyed the institutions

* *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1887.

which the best of her patriots sought to confer upon her in 1789.

The last of these four developments, which profited by the history of the other three, has generally proceeded in a cautiously constructive spirit, and has for the most part gained instead of alienating the support of sober men. The new institutions of France have been gradually adopted, and applied without violent shock to any party or class in the nation. Thus, in January, 1871, the Government of National Defence convened a representative National Assembly at Bordeaux. This Assembly selected the first Chief of the Executive, and subsequently gave him the title of President of the Republic, though he remained distinctly responsible to the Assembly, as the delegate of its authority. It was not until after the resignation of Thiers, in 1873, that the Presidential term and mode of election were established on the present basis.

The Constitution was laid down by four enactments of the Assembly, in February, July, August, and November, 1875, and amended by revising Acts in 1884 and 1885.

The President. The President of the Republic is elected for seven years by absolute majority of the National Assembly, combining in one Congress the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. He has a salary of six hundred thousand francs (£24,000), with a further allowance of the same amount, and he is re-eligible. His powers are clearly defined. He nominates members of the Council of State. He selects his Cabinet of Ministers, who are responsible to the Chambers; and, in order to insure the non-responsibility of the President, every public document signed by him requires the counter-signature of a Minister. He is, however, responsible in case of high treason. He

has a concurrent right with the Chamber of initiating legislation ; and it is his duty to promulgate and insure obedience to the laws. He has the right of pardon ; but amnesties require the passing of a special law. The armed force of the country is at his disposal, and he appoints to all civil and military posts. He may, if supported by the Senate, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the legal expiration of its mandate ; in which case the electoral colleges must forthwith be summoned to proceed to new elections, within a term of three months. In the exercise of all these duties and privileges he must have the general advice and concurrence of his Ministers, who are jointly and severally answerable for their acts to both Chambers. The right to declare war is vested in the President and both Chambers concurrently.

The Senate is composed of 800 members, of whom one-fourth, 75, were originally elected by the National Assembly for life—vacancies in this rank being filled by the Senate itself. Since 1884, however, no new Life Senators have been elected, the distinction being abolished for all except the survivors of previous elections. Subject to the gradual absorption of the remaining Life Senatorships, the entire body of the second Chamber is renewed by thirds every three years, so that the senatorial mandate extends for nine years in each case. The qualification for Senators is that they shall be of French nationality, not under forty years of age, and in full enjoyment of their civil and political rights ; but members of families which have furnished occupants of the throne, and generals and admirals on active service, are specially disqualified. The salary of a Senator is 15,000 francs (£600 a year).

Senatorial electors, in the several constituent Departments, are of three categories—(1) Communal and municipal delegates, elected by a majority of each commune or municipality, one or more delegates for every local representative body, according to population; (2) all the members of each Council General and District Council; (3) the Deputies in each Department. Two months after the election of the delegates, the whole electoral college proceeds to nominate one-third of the total number of Senators allotted to the Department. By an Act of the Assembly in 1884 there was a re-distribution of seats, according to which thirty Senators were assigned to Paris, and numbers varying from twenty downwards to other cities and large towns. Senator substitutes (*suppléants*) are elected at the same time, in case the Senator should decline or be unable to accept his mandate. By the Constitutional Act of 1875, the territory of Belfort, and the four colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion, and the French Indies, return one Senator each.

The Chamber of Deputies. The composition of the Chamber of Deputies is based upon a ratio of members to population, one member being allowed for every 70,000 souls. Before 1885, when *scrutin de liste* was adopted in place of *scrutin individuel*, every *arrondissement*, or separate administrative district, returned one Deputy, and an additional Deputy for each 100,000, or fraction of 100,000 inhabitants. The number of Deputies was then 592. By *scrutin de liste* every Department elects three or more representatives, in accordance with the ratio aforesaid. General elections are held every four years. The total number in 1887 was 584, of whom Algeria returned 6, and the various Colonial groups 10. The Department of the

Seine, including Paris, returns 38. A Deputy must be of French nationality, and twenty-five years of age; but princes of former dynasties are not eligible.

Every French citizen is entitled to vote in a particular Department if he is twenty-one years old, and has resided for two years in a particular town or arrondissement. Felony and desertion from the army or navy are the only disqualifications. The number of electors on the rolls is now about ten and a half millions. This does not amount to absolute universal suffrage, for the restriction as to residence excludes a considerable number of tax-paying citizens. The natural duration of the Chamber is still four years. The salary of a Deputy is 9,000 francs, or £360 a year.

The annual session begins on the second Thursday in January, and cannot terminate before the second Thursday in June, but it may be adjourned by the President for one month, not oftener than twice in the same session; or the Chambers may adjourn at pleasure, provided that they sit during five months at least in every year. These rules apply to both Chambers, which must sit contemporaneously. At any other time of the year the President is bound by law to call the Chambers together on receiving a requisition to that effect from half the members of each Chamber.

By-elections of course necessitate single contests, in the case of Senators and Deputies alike. An absolute majority of the votes cast at every election, and at least one quarter of the number on the register, must be obtained by a candidate to insure his return on the first ballot. Thus, if there are three or more candidates for one vacancy, and the highest on the list has not an absolute majority, a second

ballot must be taken after an interval of seven days. The relative majority then suffices. In case of an equality of votes, the oldest candidate is returned.

The eligibility of public paid functionaries as Senators or Deputies is to some extent upon the same footing as that of similar functionaries in Great Britain in respect of the House of Commons. That is to say, a large number of public servants are specifically disqualified, not merely during active service, but (in the case of Senators) for six months after retirement; but it is open to such a functionary, elected to the Chamber of Deputies, to accept the mandate of the electors, and to resign the office which he has previously held. The United States model is not followed in France, so far as regards ministers of State; for exceptions to the disqualifying rule are made in favour of ministers, under-secretaries of State, ambassadors, ministers plenipotentiary, préfets of the Seine and of police, first presidents and procureurs of the Courts of Cassation, Audits, and Appeal, certain of the superior clergy, professors, and persons charged with an extraordinary mission.

The Organic Law of July, 1875, on the mutual relations of the public powers (*Rapports des pouvoirs publics*) may be given in its entirety, as being perhaps the most significant chapter of the Constitution. The text is as follows :—

Article 1. The Senate and Chamber of Deputies meet every year, on the second Thursday in January, in pursuance of a previous summons by the President of the Republic. The two Chambers must be in session at least five months every year. The session of each begins and ends at the same time as that of the other. On the Sunday following the opening day, public prayers will be

addressed to God in the churches and temples to appeal for His aid in the labours of the Assemblies.

2. The President of the Republic declares the termination (clôture) of the session. He may summon the Chambers in extraordinary session. He must summon them if a demand to that effect is made during the recess by an absolute majority of the members of each Chamber. The President may adjourn the Chambers. Nevertheless the adjournment may not exceed the term of one month, nor be made more than twice in the same session.

3. One month at least before the legal termination of the authority of the President of the Republic, the Chambers must meet in National Assembly in order to proceed to the election of the new President. In the absence of summons, this meeting would be held of right on the fifteenth day before the expiration of his authority. In case of the death or resignation of the President of the Republic, the two Chambers meet of right immediately thereafter. If the Chamber of Deputies should have been dissolved by the President of the Republic before the expiration of its legal term at the moment when the presidency becomes vacant, the electoral colleges would be forthwith summoned, and the Senate would re-assemble of right.

4. Every meeting of either Chamber which may be held outside the ordinary term of the session is unlawful and void of authority, except in the case provided by the preceding article, and in that where the Senate has assembled as a court of justice; and in this latter case it can only exercise judicial functions.

5. The sittings of the Senate and those of the Chamber of Deputies are public. Nevertheless each Chamber may constitute itself a secret assemblage on the demand of a

certain number of its members, to be fixed by rule to that effect. It will subsequently decide by absolute majority whether the sitting shall be resumed in public upon the same subject of discussion.

6. The President of the Republic communicates with the Chambers by messages, read by a minister in the tribune. Ministers are entitled to admission in both Chambers, and must be heard when they demand speech. They may be accompanied by commissioners appointed by decree of the President of the Republic, for the discussion of a proposed measure.

7. The President of the Republic promulgates the laws within the month following the communication to the Government of an Act which has been definitely adopted. He must promulgate within three days the laws whose promulgation has been declared urgent in each Chamber. Before the expiration of the time fixed for promulgation, the President of the Republic may, by a message stating his reasons, demand a reconsideration by both Chambers, which cannot be refused.

8. The President of the Republic negotiates and ratifies treaties. He brings them to the knowledge of the Chambers as soon as the interests and safety of the State permit. Treaties of peace and commerce, treaties affecting the finances of the State, those relating to the persons and property of Frenchmen abroad, are not binding until they have been voted by both Chambers. No cession, exchange, or annexation of territory can take place except by virtue of an Act of the Assembly.

9. The President of the Republic cannot declare war without the previous consent of the Chambers.

10. Each Chamber decides on the eligibility of its mem-

bers, and on the regularity of their election ; and it alone has power to accept their resignation.

11. The bureau [President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries] of each of the two Chambers is elected every year for the complete session, and for every extraordinary session which may be held before the ordinary session of the succeeding year. When the two Chambers meet in National Assembly, their bureau is composed of the President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries of the Senate.

12. The President of the Republic can be impeached only by the Chamber of Deputies, and can be tried only by the Senate. The Ministers can be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies for crimes committed in the exercise of their functions. In this case they are tried by the Senate. The Senate may be constituted a court of justice by a decree of the President of the Republic, issued in the Council of ministers, to try any person accused of a crime committed against the safety of the State. If the proceedings have been commenced according to the ordinary law, the decree for convocation of the Senate may be issued for the date of adjournment of the trial. An Act must determine the process of accusation, examination, and sentence.

13. No member of either Chamber may be prosecuted or called to account for opinions or votes delivered by him in the exercise of his functions.

14. No member of either Chamber may, during the continuance of the session, be prosecuted or judged for a crime or misdemeanour except upon the authorization of the Chamber to which he belongs, save on discovery in the act of crime. The detention or prosecution of a member of either Chamber may be suspended during the session, and until its completion, if the Chamber so require.

If we compare the French representative system with that of the United States, we find many noteworthy distinctions, with one or two points of resemblance. Thus in the renewal of the Chamber of Deputies and the House of Representatives as a body, and of the Senates by triennial partial elections, the practice of the two Republics is the same. The framers of the French Constitution borrowed this model from the United States; but they gave their Deputies a longer normal term of office than is enjoyed by members of Congress. The French Senators also sit for nine years in place of six, as in the States; and their election is somewhat more popular in its character. The United States Senate has a veto upon most of the Presidential appointments, whilst the French Senate has no corresponding power. A new President in France is elected by the Senate and Chamber for the time being, in joint session. In America a special body of Presidential electors is chosen by the several States, who proceed to fill the vacancy, the effect being to make the United States President more directly (though not entirely) the nominee of universal suffrage. There are Frenchmen who think that their Constitution would gain in stability by being more closely assimilated to that of the United States; and indeed the assimilation has already made some progress. The tendency to withdraw the Cabinet of Ministers as much as possible from direct responsibility to the Chambers (though there have recently been some notable examples to the contrary) is an indication of the influence which has been exerted on Paris by the Washington model.

The Versailles Assembly, by which the Constitution was framed in 1875, had been elected for the specific purpose of making peace with Germany, and it had taken on itself

the responsibility of deciding under what particular form of representative institutions the country should be governed. The spirit in which this assumption was made by the composite majority of Monarchical parties was displayed in the creation of the life senators, and also in the establishment of the Septennate. The first step was manifestly of a reactionary character, and was subsequently reversed; but France has hitherto seen no reason to restrict the septennial term of the Presidency.

The question of constitutional revision was hotly debated a few years ago, and the Monarchical parties would doubtless at all times be willing to make this the first point of their programme. *Scrutin de liste*, virtually the last achievement of Gambetta, was long advocated and opposed on party grounds. The Clerical and Anti-clerical parties are to this day conspicuous by their mutual hostility; and there is another less prominent section in either Chamber which maintains the necessity of judicial reform. For general purposes of party distinction and classification, the Chamber of Deputies may be regarded as divided into the Extreme Left, Republican Left, Radical Left, United Left (Union des Gauches), Left Centre, "Centre Gauche Droit," Liberal Centre, Dissident Centre, Independents, Liberal Right, and Right.

M. Grévy was elected President for the first time in January, 1879, and re-elected in December, 1885. His Cabinets were as follows:—The Waddington, February, 1879; De Freycinet, December, 1879; Ferry, September, 1880; Gambetta, November, 1881; De Freycinet, January, 1882; Duclerc, August, 1882; De Fallières, January, 1883; Ferry, February, 1883; Brisson, April, 1885; De Freycinet, January, 1886; Goblet, December, 1886; Rouvier, May,

1887. M. Sadi-Carnot was elected President in December, 1887.

The Council The Conseil d'Etat is an inheritance from the of State. First Empire. Its duty was to assist the Emperor in preparing Bills and administrative decrees, to watch the passing of Bills through Parliament, and generally to control the public administration. After sundry vicissitudes it was reorganized in 1875. It is presided over by the Minister of Justice, and its members are divided into the two classes of ordinary and extraordinary counsellors—the latter being appointed for special service, and losing their title when their mission is accomplished. Three of its four sections have a general superintendence over the administrative departments, whilst the fourth is charged with regulative functions in matters of appeal; but it no longer exercises any authority in respect of legislation. It is, however, regarded by the government as a consultative body, to which the Council of Ministers may or may not have recourse in the preparation of measures for submission to the Chambers; but the reference must be made by a special decree of the President. It is also consulted in the preparation of ordinary decrees, and on various matters of national concern. Its functions in regard to the ordinary rules and regulations of the public service are for the most part such as it has always exercised since its first creation. Counsellors of State may be introduced into either Chamber in order to explain the measures which have been submitted to them.

The more important appellative functions of the fourth section are those which deal with petitions against the return of members to the Councils General, and with appeals from the Councils of Préfecture, or the colonial

councils, on petitions against the return of senators and senator-substitutes.*

The French Ministers, like the British, are Council of directly responsible to the Chambers by the fact Ministers. that they are elected members of one Chamber or the other ; but they have the right of speech in both, and they are not subject to re-election on their appointment. The President may be a senator or a deputy, and he usually holds the portfolio of Minister for Foreign Affairs. The other ministers are the Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice (senator), the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Minister of the Interior and Worship (deputy), of Finance (deputy), of Public Works, of Commerce and Industry (deputy), of Agriculture, and of Posts and Telegraphs. The Ministers of War and of Marine and the Colonies are usually superior officers, in which case they need not be elected members of either Chamber.

Each of these Ministers has a department of administration under his charge. The Keeper of the Seals (corresponding to the British President of the Council) presides over the Council of State, but as Minister of Justice he controls (like the other ten ministers) his *chef de cabinet* and official establishment.

France is divided into 86 Departments, and Local
Algeria into three. Belfort is a separate terri- Govern-
tory. Each of these is governed by a Préfet, ment.
appointed by the Government. They are subdivided into 362 arrondissements, and these again into 2,871 cantons, and about 36,125 communes—with an average population of about 1,000 to each commune.

The Préfet is a paid officer, and, under the control of

* See further *La Constitution Française de 1875*, by Bard and Robiquet.

the Minister of the Interior, wields the executive power of his Department. He enforces the law, having the disposal of the police, and presiding over the Conseil de Préfecture, already mentioned—this council also being appointed by the Government. The local legislature in each Department is the Council-General, an elective body renewed by halves every three years. Its functions in respect of the national elections have been described above, but it has other important duties and privileges. It “fixes the sum to be paid by the department as a land tax, house tax, or personal tax, and apports out the sum total among the different arrondissements, and decides appeals from the arrondissements that are dissatisfied with their assessments. It manages all departmental property, controls the construction of departmental roads, bridges, and ferries, and is responsible for their repair. It superintends generally all public works of departmental interest. Lunatic asylums, the maintenance of poor children, and the departmental poorhouses, are also within its jurisdiction. It controls the decisions of the communes as regards fairs and markets, and the alteration of *octroi* duties. Finally, it audits the departmental accounts.” *

The Arrondissement also has an elective council, presided over by a Sous-préfet. Its main function is to distribute the assessment of the Council-General amongst the communes, and to attend to other details of local administration as auxiliary to the superior body.

The Communes are corporate bodies, with elective municipal councils and presiding maires. The maires, like the préfets and sous-préfets, are appointed by Government, and they may be suspended by the préfets. The maire has

* Chalmers, “Local Government” (*English Citizen Series*).

more or less power, according to the size of the commune and of its council. He "appoints most of the communal officials, and is empowered to make by-laws on such subjects as the abatement of nuisances, and other matters relating to public health, the sale of provisions, the regulation of street traffic, the preservation of order in public places, and the control of theatres. The communal budget is presented by the maire, and voted by the Conseil-municipal. The members of the Conseil-municipal are elected for three years. The duties of that body consist in assisting and to some extent controlling the maire, and in the management of the communal property and affairs. Among the functions allotted to the commune are the making and repair of communal roads, the enclosure and maintenance of burial grounds, and the provision of moneys for the local police, elementary education, and the maintenance of foundling children." *

The administration of justice is in the hands of the Minister and his department. The basis of the judicial edifice are the *juges de paix*, one for each canton and city ward, corresponding in some manner to the justices of the peace and magistrates in Britain; though their object is not so much to decide on questions of law as to make preliminary inquiry, and to check litigation by advice and counsel. The *municipal police tribunals* in the larger communes have cognizance of cases involving not more than five days' imprisonment and 15 francs fine, on summary jurisdiction. In the chief towns of all *arrondissements* there are *tribunals of first instance*, taking both civil and criminal business, and appeals from the police tribunals. They try various misdemeanours, of

* Chalmers, as above.

which the punishment is not higher than that just stated. From them there is an appeal to the ordinary *Courts of Appeal*, and thence to the high *Court of Cassation*. The most important class of criminal cases are taken by the *Cours d'assises*, of which there are 26, in so many judicial circuits. Each assize court has a presiding judge and not fewer than nine *conseillers*, corresponding to puisne judges. They go circuit twice a year, and have exclusive jurisdiction over felonies. Trial in these courts is by jury.

The *Cour des Comptes* takes the highest civil cases, and the *Haute-cour de Justice*, created in 1848, deals with offences against the safety of the State. In addition there are military and commercial tribunals.

The civil law of France is embodied in the Code Napoléon, promulgated by the first emperor, having been compiled by his direction from many previously existing codes. It was based to a large extent on the code of Justinian, but took many of its distinctive features from the codes of Louis XIV.

Education and Religion. Education in France is now essentially a matter of Government administration, and the advance in efficiency during the past twenty years has been as great as in any other country. Upwards of £6,900,000 was spent by the State in 1886, for primary instruction alone, showing an average cost of about 17s. 6d. per head on the children between four and sixteen years of age. (In Great Britain the cost in 1887 was about 17s. 2½d.) Primary education is free, compulsory, and secular. Secondary education is given in lycées and communal colleges, for both sexes. There are about ninety normal schools for males and seventy for females. Technical and industrial education is not neglected, though likely to receive greater development.

Higher education is provided, also by the State, through the *facultés d'état*, of which fourteen are for letters and science, one for letters alone, and one for science alone ; fourteen are for law, and six for medicine. More than two-thirds (8,500) of the students attend the various *facultés* in Paris alone.

Since 1885 there have been no theological *facultés* supported by the State. Religion is supported on a footing of impartial toleration, every denomination with more than 100,000 members being entitled to a grant. The Roman Church claims 78 per cent. of the population, the Protestants nearly 2 per cent., and persons "declining to make any declaration of religious belief," nearly 20 per cent. Jews and Mussulmans are sufficiently numerous to receive a grant. The religious expenditure of the State in 1887 was about £1,460,000. The Roman Church is governed by 17 archbishops, 67 bishops, and about 54,500 clergy. The Lutheran Protestants are governed by a General Consistory, and the Calvinists by an administrative Council.

Under the Second Empire France adopted a liberal commercial system, based on commercial Finance. treaties with most of her allies. The treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Cobden in 1859, was allowed to drop twenty years later, and the other chief commercial treaties will expire in 1892. The policy of the country is now again relapsing into a system of protection. "During the five years," says M. Yves Guyot, "which preceded the Anglo-French Treaty, from 1855 to 1859, the average importations and exportations of France were respectively 1,732 and 1,894 million francs. During the five years after the treaty of 1860 the figures were—importations, 2,447 millions ; exportations, 2,564 millions. From 1879 to 1883, which

comes under new treaties, the average exportation was 3,457. It must be remembered that with this commercial expansion there has not been an increase of population. England refused to renew the treaty with France on the conditions offered, and in 1881 we were put on the same footing as the other nations. . . . All reference to agricultural elements was purposely excluded from the treaties of 1881, and instead of these treaties, as some people believed, leading towards free trade, the effect has been quite the contrary. The Government was to deal with the subjects excluded from the treaties, and this is the result : the tariff on cattle has been augmented, wheat has been taxed several times, a duty of 10f. per 100 kilogrammes has been imposed on eggs, and the tariff for cod-fish has been increased from 12½f. to 48f. Among the 580 articles subjected to tariffs all sorts of raw materials suffer, and the cost of production thus becomes too high."

The finances of France have been in a most unsatisfactory condition since the German war in 1870, the annual expenditure being nearly doubled. It now approaches £150,000,000 for the year—including, in round numbers, £50,700,000 for the charges of the public debt, and £34,400,000 for the army and navy. In order to raise this amount the country taxes itself at the rate of about £4 per head, and recourse is had to such out-of-the-way imposts as those on doors and windows, salt, and many other necessities of life. In 1887 the direct taxes were £17,600,000, and the indirect taxes £96,500,000.

The Public Debt, bearing interest at from 3 to 4½ per cent., was in 1887, 21,449,066,123 francs, or £857,962,600. But this is only the consolidated debt. "According to a recent statement of M. Sadi-Carnot in the Chamber of

Deputies, the capital of the funded debt amounted on July 1, 1885, to 19,722,000,000 francs, while in 1884 M. Tirard calculated the engagements of the Treasury, the redemption of which was obligatory at a date not later than 1960, at 16,152,736,554 francs, or a total debt of 35,874,736,554 francs, equal to £88 per head of the population." *

The debts of the communes are estimated at nearly £120,000,000, and of Paris alone at about £100,000,000.

FRENCH DEPENDENCIES.

The Dependencies and Colonies of France are as follows :

In *Africa*—Algérie, Sénégal, Guinée, Côte d'Or, Congo, Gabon, Obok, Ste. Marie de Madagascar, Mayotte, Nossi Bé, La Réunion (Bourbon I.).

In *Asia*—Etablissements de l'Inde, Cochin-Chine, Indo-Chine.

In *America*—St. Pierre, Miquelon, Martinique, Guadeloupe and its dependencies (Désirade, Saintes, Marie-Galante, and St. Martin), Guyane (Cayenne).

In *Oceania*—Isles Marquises and Taïti, Nouvelle Calédonie and its dependencies.

Under Protection—Tunisie, Annam, Comores, Cambodje, Madagascar (conditional).

Area of possessions, about 800,000 square miles. Population, about 26,000,000.

Algeria is not regarded as a colony, but as three departments of France. The population in 1881 was 3,360,000, of whom 233,987 were French, 2,850,866 indigenous Musulmans, and 189,944 Europeans of various nationalities.

* See further *Statesman's Year Book*, 1887.

The government is in the hands of a Governor-General, assisted by a consultative and a financial Council. The departments of Alger, Constantine, and Oran, are organized to some extent on the model of the French Departments ; but these in part, and the desert fringe of the dependency entirely, are under military government. A corps d'armée is always present in the country, whilst the stationary troops consist of Turcos, Spahis, Chasseurs d'Afrique, Zouaves, and a Foreign Legion.

The laws of Algeria are made by the French Chambers—each of the three departments being represented by one senator and two deputies.

The French schools are of three grades, and are attended by about 90,000 students of various ages ; the cost of education to the State approaching £100,000. In this sum are included grants to Arab, French, and Mussulman schools.

The expenditure in 1883 was £1,540,000, which left a surplus of about £200,000. Three years later the expenditure had risen to £2,100,000, and the revenue was less than that sum by £400,000.

France claims to have had commercial establishments on the east coast of *Madagascar* since 1642. Early in the present century the factories on the mainland were abandoned, in favour of Ste. Marie and Nossi Bé, with an assumed protectorate over the Sakalavas on the north-west coast. The Hovas, who in the course of the century had made themselves masters of a large part of the island, having wronged several French colonists and refused to recognize the right of France to protect them, were attacked by a French force in 1883. By a treaty concluded in December, 1885, Madagascar agreed to receive a French resident, to pay an indemnity, as security for which France was to

collect the customs at six ports, and to permit her relations with other Powers to be regulated by France. Great Britain, Germany, and Italy, have refused to interpret the last clause as requiring their consuls to present their papers through the French representative. The Resident is stationed at Tananarivo, with a military escort ; but he is precluded from meddling with the administration of the country.

Tunis has been under the protectorate of France since May, 1881, and the relation is much closer than in the case of Madagascar, inasmuch as the French Resident and his staff control the administration of the country, under instruction from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris. In 1884 the old consular courts were replaced by French judges administering a mixed code.

Financially the affairs of the country were submitted to an International Commission, subsequently replaced by French controllers. The public expenditure in 1885 was £1,230,000, as against little more than £60,000 in 1880. The debt is £5,700,000.

The ministerial crisis in France which substituted M. Rouvier as First Minister in place of M. Goblet was something more than an ordinary shuffling of political cards. To lookers-on from the outside it seemed like a mere manœuvre designed to get rid of General Boulanger. Judged by English methods, it might have been regarded as a natural outcome of the ministerial defeat on the budget, which M. Rouvier had attacked. But a closer consideration of the circumstances, aided by subsequent events, leads us to a more interesting and important con-

1887.

clusion. A change of Ministry in France is not the same, stereotyped proceeding which it has come to be in England. It was not a matter of course that M. Goblet should bow before the vote which condemned his excessive expenditure. M. Rouvier was not chosen as his successor because he had elicited this vote. Strenuous efforts were made to induce other statesmen to form a Cabinet before M. Rouvier was applied to. There was, in fact, no stringent rule of prescription or propriety by which the crisis had to be directed. For something like a fortnight M. Grévy appears to have taken counsel with men of nearly every shade of political conviction, and this delay gave time for the real nature of the situation to declare itself.

It became evident that the prevalent feeling of the political leaders, reflecting the general feeling of the country, was one of anxiety in regard to the fortunes of the Republic at home and abroad. A sense of the necessity for caution and prudence had taken possession of the public mind; and if M. Grévy had evidence of this—as it is supposed that he had—in the expressed readiness of the Moderate Right to give its active support to a Ministry of the Moderate Left, he had perhaps no alternative but to call such a Ministry into existence. There was no positive coalition between two parties whose agreement had hitherto been deemed impossible; nor was that necessary, for M. Rouvier had a small majority of votes from the Left alone. But the fact remains that the Royalists deliberately committed themselves to strengthen the position of the Opportunists.

The Rouvier Cabinet was not destined to outlive seven months. The discussion of certain administrative scandals in November, aggravating the already unsettled state of public opinion, not merely hastened the fall of the Cabinet

, but brought on a Presidential crisis. M. Grévy was compelled to resign, and, in accordance with the Constitution, (see page 243), a Congress of the two Chambers met at Versailles, and elected M. Sadi-Carnot as his successor. The rival candidates of the Republicans were M. Ferry and M. de Freycinet, and the Right proposed General Saussier. M. Carnot had few supporters at the outset, and he owed his election to the fact that the two sections of the Republicans could not sink their differences so far as to give a majority to either. The contrast between the French and the American methods of selecting a President was clearly shown by these proceedings. The French people had no voice whatever in the appointment of the man who (except in case of his death or resignation) will be their chief magistrate for the next seven years. M. Carnot may be the best of all possible candidates; but the nation would have neither responsibility nor direct remedy if he should turn out to be the worst.

The expulsion of the Monarchical Pretenders The
from France was thought by the Republicans Pretenders.
indispensable for the security of the established form of
government. Before their exclusion a few zealous adherents
from time to time made feeble demonstrations on behalf of
the Royalist or Imperialist princes; but none of these de-
monstrations was so well calculated to impress a wavering
mind as the manifesto published in September by the Comte
de Paris, who in his exile had clearly exerted himself to
draw up a logical vindication of the monarchical principle,
in order to attract any moderate man inclined to despair of
the stability of the Republic. From this point of view the
document had a special significance.

“ The Monarchical party (wrote the Count), must show to

France how necessary to her the Monarchy is, and how easy its re-establishment would be. They must reassure her with respect to the imaginary dangers of transition, and prove that the transition can be legally effected. History unfortunately furnishes only too many reasons to foresee one of those violent crises which seem to be of a periodical character in the life of the nation. Should such a crisis ensue the Monarchy can and must arise out of it, but it will not have provoked it. The Monarchy will be strong enough to reconcile the practice of universal suffrage with the guarantees of order which the country will demand. Disgusted with Republican Parliamentarism, the country will be anxious for a strong Government, because it understands very well that even a real parliamentary *régime* which, under the Monarchy, cast so much brilliance on the years 1815 to 1848, is not compatible with an Assembly elected by universal suffrage. The mechanism must be altered so as to adapt it to this new and powerful motor.

“Under the Republic the Chamber governs without control. Under the Monarchy the King will govern, with the aid of the Chambers. Beside the Chamber of Deputies, equal authority will belong to the Senate, which will be for the most part elective, and will unite in itself the representatives of the great forces and great interests of society. Between these two assemblies Royalty, having Ministers as its intermediaries, and able to lean on one or the other, will be enlightened and guided, but not condemned to subservience. A modification of parliamentary practice will suffice to maintain a balance, and prevent any exclusive domination by either Chamber. The Budget, instead of being voted annually, will henceforward be the ordinary law, and will, therefore, be only subject to amendment by

agreement between the three powers in the State. Each year the financial law will comprise only the modifications proposed by the Government in the preceding Budget. If these proposals are rejected, all the public services will be suspended, and no private interests will be compromised as by the throwing out of the Budget. Nevertheless, true constitutional principles will be scrupulously respected, for no fresh tax can be levied and no new expenditure determined without the consent of the elect of the nation. It will be the duty of the Monarchy to restore economy to the finances, order in the Government, and independence in the administration of justice. It will have to raise our position in Europe by peaceful means, to gain for us respect, and to make our alliance sought by our neighbours.

“Constitutions avail only according to the spirit in which they are applied. It is important, therefore, above all to convince her that the new Monarchy will be able to satisfy at the same time Conservative needs and the passion for equality. Under the protection of a Monarchical Government France will be enabled to recover in peace and labour her ancient prosperity. Thanks to the confidence inspired by the solidity of her institutions, she will have the authority necessary for treating with foreign Powers, and seeking at the same time to lessen the military burdens which are ruining old Europe for the benefit of other parts of the world.

“The Monarchy will grant to all forms of religious worship the protection which an enlightened Government owes to the faiths which comfort the soul of man in the midst of his earthly miseries, elevate hearts, and strengthen courage. It will guarantee to the clergy the respect which is due to them for the accomplishment of their mission, while restor-

ing to the communes in the matter of schools that independence which tyrannical legislation tore from them. It will restore to France the liberty of Christian education, and will secure to religious associations as to others that freedom which will become under certain conditions of public order a right common to all Frenchmen, instead of being, as it is to-day, the privilege of a party. Thus will religious peace, which a policy of intolerance has disturbed to its depths, be re-established. . . . The Monarchy will place military traditions above the fluctuation of politics. It will do so by giving to the army an incontestable, an unchangeable head. With a permanent Commander-in-Chief the discipline of the lower ranks will be effectually secured."

In conclusion the Count declared that the Monarchy once established would be able to deal with the wide question of pauperism in town and country. Even the Republican *nouvelles couches* would find outlets for their energies under a Monarchy which the Republic does not afford. The manifesto concluded in the following terms:—"The Monarchy will not represent the revenge of a conquering party on the conquered, the triumph of one class over another. By raising above all competition the depository of the executive power, it constitutes him the supreme guardian of the law, before which all will be as equal as they are at this moment. May all good citizens, all patriots whose hopes have been deceived, whose interests have been compromised, whose conscience has been wounded by the present *régime*, join the labourers of the first hour to prepare the common salvation. May they second the efforts of him who will be King of all and the first servant of France."

There was no external indication that this carefully

worded document had produced the desired effect upon minds not previously won back to monarchical ideas.

On the completion of the war in Tonquin, in 1884, this country and that of Annam were placed under the administration of a French Resident-General residing at Hué; but the Government of the combined protectorate has not yet been thoroughly organized. Owing to various causes, but chiefly, it appears, to an unfortunate choice of administrators, the country makes no great progress towards settlement. Within two years the colony has witnessed the passage through its administration of two Governors-General, one Resident-General, one Acting Resident-General, one Minister-Resident, and one Secretary-General acting as Minister-Resident. During M. Paul Bert's brief term of office he appointed a native viceroy over Tonquin, whilst the Minister-Resident exercised authority over the southern part of Annam, and the native King of Annam governed the remainder. This arrangement was thought to be working fairly well, when the French Government sent out a Commissioner to inquire into the situation. Between him and the Minister-Resident a conflict of authority immediately arose, and once more the Government was called upon (1887) to arrange the quarrels of its servants in the East.

The ideas of the Commissioner in respect of the future administration of French Indo-China appeared to be based in some measure on the system adopted by Great Britain in her Oriental dependencies. He advised that Annam and Tonquin should be fully administered by native authorities, and that the French Residents should be simply attached to the supreme Governor in order to give advice and counsel. They should be under the control of a Governor

or Minister-Resident at Hué, acquainted with the language and customs of the people, and should abstain from taking any part in the local administration. There should be garrisons of French troops in reserve near the coasts, and the native police should be trained by French non-commissioned officers, but commanded by the native authorities. The Commissioner submitted these ideas to the King of Annam, and secured his adhesion to them in general terms.

Acting in part upon this report, the French Government has appointed a Governor of Indo-China, under the control of the Ministry of Marine, and it is understood to be considering the best mode of utilizing native authority and influence in the administration of the combined territories.

During the year an agreement was arrived at between France and Great Britain, defining the sphere of action of the two countries in their neighbouring East African territories. By the terms of the understanding Great Britain recognizes the rights of France over the Obock territory and the Gulf of Tadjoureh, and cedes to that country the island of Mushah, situated in the middle of the Gulf. The frontier line of the French territory extends from Cape Djiboujeh, situated beyond the frontier of the districts already under French protection to Harar, from which place it runs in a westerly direction to Shoa. France, on her part, acknowledges the authority of Great Britain in the territories situated to the east of Cape Djiboujeh, including Dongareta.

The important conventions between Great Britain and France in respect of the Suez Canal, the New Hebrides, and the Tahiti group, have been mentioned above (p. 199). (See also under *Germany*, 1887.)

GUATEMALA.

Central America, between Mexico and Colombia, is now divided into five Republics—Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and San Salvador—carved out of the old Spanish State of Guatemala. The yoke of Spain was thrown off in 1821, and a federal constitution (Conservative or “*Servile*”) was proclaimed three years later. In 1839, the Confederation was broken up, since which time the five Republics have been under separate government.

In 1871 General Barrios was elected to the Presidency of Guatemala (capital, Santiago de Guatemala). He represented what was known as the Liberal party in the country, and amongst his first acts was the expulsion of the Roman Catholic bishops, the Jesuits, Franciscans, Capucins, and Dominicans; which was followed by the disendowment of the Church, and the appropriation of the funds and edifices to the use of the Government, and for public education. This summary treatment of the religious establishment in Guatemala must be read in the light cast by history upon the shameful abuses of the Spanish dominion in America, which had rendered such a revolt inevitable.

Central America has not been accurately surveyed; the area of Guatemala, on an average of estimates, is about 50,000 square miles. Population, about 1,400,000, or twenty-eight to the square mile. Nearly one-third of these are of European descent, the remainder being *Indios*. One consequence of the discredit into which religion has fallen is that something like one-fourth of the births are illegitimate.

GOVERNMENT.

The actual Constitution was adopted in 1859, and subsequently enlarged in various important particulars.

The President is elected every six years by direct popular vote. The Assembly at the same time nominates two deputies, in order to supply without further election any accidental vacancy during the Presidential term. The framers of the constitution took credit to themselves for having thus guarded against what appeared to them a blemish in the United States model—the election of a President by caucus.

The President is assisted by a Council of State, consisting of fifteen members, appointed by himself, whereof six are the Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, Government and Justice, Commerce and Public Credit, War, Interior, and Public Instruction. It is the duty of the Secretaries of State to make annual reports on the affairs of their departments to the Assembly, and to that extent they relieve the President of executive responsibility.

The National Assembly, which has only one House, meets on the 1st of March for a session of two months, which can be extended in case of need. The members are elected by universal suffrage, to the number of one for every 20,000 of the population. One-half of the Chamber is renewed in each alternate year, the electoral mandate thus extending over four years.

Guatemala is divided into twenty-three Departments, subdivided into sixty-one Districts. The local administration extends over "eleven cities (*ciudades*), thirty-two towns (*villas*), two hundred and ninety-nine villages (*pueblos*), fourteen hundred and six settlements (*aldeas*), fifty-nine shore hamlets (*caserios litorales*), and three thousand seven hundred and forty-two interior hamlets (*caserios rurales*)."* There are local elections for minor

* "Guatemala." By W. T. Brigham. (T. Fisher Unwin).

offices, but the President appoints the Governor (Jefe Politico) of each Department, as well as the Judges and magistrates. The Spaniards introduced their own version of Roman law, which has been gradually adapted to the circumstances of the country, and embodied in a special code. The judges are appointed for four years, and they are eligible for re-appointment. It may be doubted whether this plan is best calculated to secure the independence of the bench.

Education in Guatemala is free and compulsory, being supported in part, as already said, out of the confiscated revenues of the Church, and many of the sacred edifices (superfluous so far as accommodation for worship is concerned) being used as schools. Primary education was defined in a Presidential decree of 1879 to consist of reading and writing in Spanish, linear drawing and object lessons, history and geography, morals and manners (moral y urbanidad). There are about 900 primary schools in Guatemala, including those under private management, to which the State makes a contribution in aid. A further instance of the centralization of government in this Republic is afforded by the fact that the Ministry of Public Instruction not only visits and inspects the schools, but also appoints the teachers. The sum annually voted for primary schools and departmental expenses is about £50,000, but the ecclesiastical property devoted to the service of education represents a considerable sum in addition to this. The average attendance represents about one in four of the total number of children of schoolage.

Secondary and higher education is also aided by Government grants, and is spoken of by competent observers as being in an efficient condition.

Education
and
Religion.

Religion in Guatemala is thoroughly disorganized. There is ample accommodation in the cathedrals and churches not appropriated by the Government, but they are for the most part neglected, many of them being only casually served by itinerant priests. It is estimated that less than one-tenth of the population avail themselves of the opportunities of public worship; and it does not appear that any other system of religion thrives upon the ruin of the Roman Catholic establishment.

Finance. The finances of Guatemala do not flourish so well as her internal government. Import and export duties provide more than a quarter of the total revenue, but this does not suffice to cover the expenditure, or to furnish interest for the foreign debt (held chiefly in Great Britain). The bulk of this is in the shape of a loan of £720,000, contracted in 1869. Payment of interest was suspended in 1885.

HAYTI.

The Republic of Hayti (capital, Port-au-Prince) is the western portion of the island of San Domingo, in the West Indies, formerly in the possession of France, and previously of Spain. After many vicissitudes a Constitution was proclaimed in 1867.

Area, 10,250 square miles. Population, about 800,000, of whom nine-tenths are negroes, and the remainder chiefly half-breeds. The prevailing language is French.

GOVERNMENT.

The President, nominally elected for four years, at a salary of £4,800, is the head of the executive power. Regular popular elections have not recently taken place, the country being in a condition of chronic insurrection.

The present occupant of the post has had a longer term of office than any of his predecessors (1879-87). He is assisted by four Ministers who are in charge of departments of administration.

A Senate of 30 is nominated by the House of Commons, and is renewed by thirds every two years. The House is elected by the people every three years, all citizens earning incomes and paying taxes being entitled to vote.

The religion is nominally Roman Catholic. Education is in a neglected condition, and not efficiently supported by the State.

Expenditure in 1885-6, about £800,000 nominal. Foreign debt, £3,838,120. Internal debt (largely represented by paper money) unascertained. Interest is not paid on either of these debts.

HONDURAS.

The Republic of Honduras (capital, Tegucigalpa) is on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, east of Guatemala and north of Nicaragua. Assuming independence in 1839, it proclaimed a Constitution in 1865, and modified it in 1880.

Area, 46,000 square miles. Population, about 460,000, of whom the large majority are native Indios. These figures are mere approximations.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution of 1880 provides for a President to be elected every four years by popular vote of all electors to the Chamber of Deputies. He is assisted by a Council of seven Ministers, having charge of Foreign Affairs, Interior, Public Works, War, Finance, Public Instruction, and Justice. These are nominated by and responsible to the

President, and advise him in his executive capacity. The government of the country is, however, very unsettled, and the President has frequently been content to rule with the help of a single Minister.

The Chamber of Deputies includes thirty-seven members, the franchise apparently depending on the payment of taxes.

For local administration the country is divided into twelve Departments, including sixty districts, and 212 municipalities.

Education is fairly attended to, about one in eighteen of the population attending school. There are also higher schools and a national college.

Honduras is practically bankrupt—a fact which is due in part to quarrels with its neighbours and in part to the contraction of loans for the construction of an inter-oceanic railway. Three loans, of the nominal amount of £5,990,000, were contracted in Europe between 1867 and 1870, at interest varying from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 per cent. It is uncertain how much of the principal reached Honduras. About £689,000 was paid to contractors up to 1875, and a few miles of the line near Puerto Cortez are all that there is to show for the money. No interest has been paid since 1872. The internal debt of the country is £400,000. The annual Revenue is about £200,000, and the Expenditure somewhat greater.

LIBERIA.

The "United States of Liberia" (capital, Monrovia) were founded as an experimental nation of negroes, on the west coast of Africa, in the year 1822, by the American Colonization Society, of which Henry Clay was the guiding spirit.

The settlement was intended to test the capacity of the African natives for self-government, and prospered fairly for some time, under the direction of American citizens. Its independence was proclaimed in 1847, and recognized by the European Powers; but not by the United States until the slave-holding influence over the Government had passed away.

Area, about 14,000 square miles. Population, over a million, of whom about 18,000 are liberated slaves.

GOVERNMENT.

The United States Constitution was imposed upon this mimic Republic. The President must not be under 35 years of age, and must possess property to the amount of £120. The Senate is composed of eight members, and is elected every four years. The House of Representatives, elected every two years, contains thirteen members.

There is a gradually increasing Revenue, now exceeding £40,000, and an Expenditure which does not appear to grow with the Revenue. The latter is derived mainly from customs dues. Nevertheless the country owes about £200,000, on which it does not pay interest, and its condition at present appears to be almost hopeless.

MEXICO.

The Federal Republic of Mexico (capital, Mexico) has been in almost constant revolution since its independence of Spain in 1821. A Federal Republic was proclaimed in 1823, and after many disturbances a new Constitution was proclaimed in 1857. This was presently annulled by the so-called church, or reactionary, party. The attempt of the French to set up an empire for the Archduke Maximilian

in 1862-7 signally failed. Mexico lies between the United States and the Republic of Guatemala, having lost to the former country the States of California and Texas, and the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona.

Area, 645,500 square miles. Population, about 10,000,000. Of these about one-fifth are white, and more than one-third are Indians. These estimates include the three Territories not organized as States.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution of 1823, revised in 1857, and modified on subsequent occasions, took many of its features from that of the United States. It declares all citizens equal, without respect of race or creed ; gives to each of the constituent States two votes in the Senate ; makes the popular House correspond to the population of the States, with universal suffrage ; provides for the payment of Senators and Representatives ; and in sundry other ways keeps fairly close to the northern model. But the difficulty has been to insure obedience to this Constitution in a country which is doomed to almost perpetual civil war.

The President is indirectly elected every four years, and is not immediately re-eligible. He is assisted by six Secretaries of State, having charge of the Departments of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Finance, the Interior, War and Marine, and Public Works, who are responsible to Congress.

The Senate includes 56 members, two each from twenty-eight States. Senators must be thirty years of age, and they receive a salary of £600 a year. One member is elected by his colleagues each month to act as President of the Chamber, and he is the recognized substitute for the President in case of need.

The House of Representatives has 227 members, increased at the rate of one for every 40,000 inhabitants. Candidates must be twenty-five years of age, and residents in the States which they seek to represent. Their salary is the same as that of Senators. The two Chambers sit simultaneously during the month of May, and again for three months from the middle of September.

The several States have elective Legislatures and Governors.

The judicial system is theoretically complete, and it occupies by the Constitution the same position as that of the United States, in relation both to the President and to Congress.

Education is compulsory—again in theory—and for the most part free. There are about 9,000 elementary schools, with half a million students, as well as higher schools; the annual cost to the central Government being about £700,000. Religion is not established, and there is much toleration in this respect; but no religious corporation can legally hold property in land.

The estimated expenditure for 1885–6 was £4,055,600, in addition to £4,808,700 of deficits brought forward from previous years. The ordinary income was estimated at £5,400,000. The total debt of the country at that time was £42,079,000, which did not include the loans contracted by the usurping Governments of 1857–60 and 1863–7.

NICARAGUA.

The Republic of Nicaragua (capital, Managua), between Honduras and Costa Rica, stretches from ocean to ocean, with an area of about 50,000 square miles, and a population of about 400,000.

GOVERNMENT.

Nicaragua is governed by a President elected for four years by popular vote, who is assisted by a Council of Ministers having charge of Foreign Affairs, Finance, War and Marine, and Public Instruction.

By the Constitution of 1858 the legislative government is vested in a Congress of two Houses—a Senate of ten members elected for six years, and a House of Representatives of eleven members, elected every four years. The franchise is universal.

For local administration the country is divided into ten Departments, each of which returns one senator and one deputy, Leon, the ancient capital, returning two deputies.

Education is a charge of the State, but it is indifferently attended to. The number of soldiers is considerably in excess of the number of children in the schools.

The revenue is about £360,000, of which nearly half is derived from customs. The public interior debt is £250,000; and there is a foreign loan amounting to £57,000.

“For more than half a century Nicaragua has been darkly distinguished above all other countries of the world by war and bloodshed. Military *pronunciamientos*, civil war, and popular revolts have so exhausted all the resources of this rich country that it is quiet at last from utter exhaustion. Could these fermenting republics be induced to give up their absurd and expensive military establishments, and expend the money, now worse than wasted, in opening roads and teaching the people something besides military drill, the prosperity of this wonderfully fertile and agreeable region would be assured. Only their revolutionary habits now stand in the way of the introduction of foreign capital.” *

* “Guatemala.” By W. T. Brigham. (T. Fisher Unwin).

ORANGE FREE STATE.

The Republic of Orange (capital, Bloemfontein) lies between the Orange and Vaal rivers and the Drakensberg Mountains, having for neighbours the Cape Colony, Natal, and the South African Republic.

Area, 70,000 square miles. Population, about 140,000, of whom nearly half are of European origin—principally Dutch.

GOVERNMENT.

The Boers of the Orange State are in the main descendants of those who retired northward before the British settlers, early in the present century. After some fighting the State was allowed to retain its independence by a convention signed in 1854. In the same year a Constitution was drawn up and published; but it was not adopted by the Volksraad until 1878–9.

The chief provisions of the Free State Constitution are as follows :—

Citizenship may be secured by a year's residence, in addition to a registered property not less than £150 in value; or by three years' residence without registered property. All citizens from the age of sixteen to sixty are held liable to the service of the State. At the age of eighteen a citizen may vote in the election of Veldcommandants and Veldcornets. Voters for the Volksraad and Presidential elections must be of full age, and either natives of the State, or registered owners of £150, or owners of a farm valued at not less than £30, or in possession of a fixed annual income of £200, or owners of moveable property worth at least £300, coupled with a three years' residence in the State.

The Volksraad or National Council includes one member for each field-cornetcy (Veldecornetschap), in the several districts, and one for the chief town of every district. The election is direct, by open voting taken in each chief town and rural district (wijk). (The total number of members is fifty-six.) Candidates must be twenty-five years old, and possess a property of not less than £500. Members who lose their property qualification, or are convicted of crime, or fail to take their seat during two sessions, cease to be members. The Volksraad is renewed by halves every two years. A President (Voorzitter) is elected each session; he has a casting vote, and may, on emergency (like the President of the State), summon the representatives for an extraordinary session. The Volksraad makes the laws and controls the administration and finance, meeting regularly for this purpose on the first Monday in May. The Acts of the Volksraad have the force of law two months after promulgation. They are signed by the President of the Volksraad and the President of the State; and members are enjoined to make them known and explain them to their constituents. The Volksraad may put the President on his trial for high treason, corruption, or other grave crimes, when the case will be decided by the votes of three-fourths of the members. It cannot pass an Act to limit the right of peaceful public meeting, or of demanding the redress of grievances or the amendment of the law. It is required to protect and maintain the Dutch Reformed Church, and to promote the interests of religion and education. It may pass civil or military laws for the defence of the country, and raise taxes or contract loans for the same or other public purposes. (The members of the Volksraad now receive payment at the rate of £1 a day during the session.)

The President of the State is elected for five years by all the electors. (President Brand has been elected five times in succession.) He superintends the public administration, and is responsible to the Volksraad, to which appeals may be made from his decisions. He is to visit the rural districts as often as possible, and to give their inhabitants the opportunity of declaring their wishes. He gives the Volksraad his advice and counsel, appoints to all public offices when the Volksraad is not sitting, suspends public functionaries, exercises the right of pardon if supported by a majority of the Executive Council, declares war or concludes peace, and makes conventions—subject to the consent of the Volksraad.

The Executive Council includes the Landrost of the capital, the Government Secretary, and three non-official members elected by the Volksraad, one of whom vacates his seat each year. The Council meets in Bloemfontein on the second Monday of every alternate month, and makes an annual report of its proceedings to the Volksraad. A majority of the Council may convoke the Volksraad in extraordinary session; and may, with the President's assent, proclaim martial law.

The Landrost is invested with the powers of a civil commissary and resident magistrate. The judiciary authority is exercised exclusively by the courts established by law. (A Supreme Court, and Circuit Courts meeting twice a year in each district, have since been set up.) The law controls criminal justice as well as matters of police; but criminal affairs brought in the first instance before the superior courts must always be tried by a jury. Dutch Roman law is the general law of the State. The law is equal for all, and must be impartially applied to every

inhabitant of the State. Freedom of the press is guaranteed.

The Field-cornets are elected by a majority of citizens in the several rural districts, of which they must be resident inhabitants; and each of the seventeen governmental Districts is administered by a resident Field-Commandant, also elected by the citizens. In case of war the Commandants and Cornets meet together and elect a Commandant-General, who is thenceforth under the orders of the President of the State.

The government of the Free State appears to be very orderly, regular, and uneventful. Provision has been made for Education by the investment of a sum of £200,000. The Revenue and Expenditure have varied during the past ten years between £150,000 and £265,000.

PARAGUAY.

The Republic of Paraguay (capital, Assuncion), after being liberated from Spain in 1811, was governed by a series of dictatorships, confined to one family for fifty-five years, until 1870, when the last of the line was slain in a war which he had provoked with Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine. The country lies in the fork of the Paraguay and Parana rivers, having for neighbours Brazil, Bolivia, and the Argentine.

Area, nearly 92,000 square miles. Population, 346,048 at the last census in 1879, of whom about 3,000 are Europeans. Quite recently the Government has begun to encourage immigration by offering grants of land out of the national domains, which amount to more than half the area of the country.

GOVERNMENT.

Paraguay falls under the influence of Brazil, but its Constitution, adopted in 1844 and enlarged in 1870, renders it nominally an independent Republic.

The executive is in the hands of a President, elected for four years, with a salary of £1,900, who is assisted by five Ministers—of Foreign Affairs, the Interior, Finance, War, and Public Worship and Justice. The Vice-President presides over the Senate.

Both Senate and House of Representatives are elected by a suffrage which is proximately universal—the first in the ratio of one Senator to 12,000 inhabitants, and the latter being twice as numerous. Senators and Deputies receive a salary of £100 a year.

The 23 Districts are administered by governors and elective councils, and enjoy a large measure of local autonomy.

There is a High Court in Assuncion, and sundry District Courts, with local justices of the peace.

Education is compulsory, and the State aids the elementary and higher schools to the amount of about £17,500 annually. The established religion is Roman Catholic, but other forms are tolerated.

The Expenditure in 1885 was £369,900, and the Revenue £253,000. Public debt (reduced), £915,340, of which the greater part is external.

PERU.

The Republic of Peru (capital, Lima) stretches along the Pacific coast from Ecuador to Chili, having Brazil and Bolivia on the eastern frontier. It revolted from Spain in 1821, and its first Constitution was adopted in 1828. In

1829 it fought with Colombia. In 1864-7 there was a partial attempt of Spain to renew her domination, when Peru was aided by Chili. In 1879-81, after forming a secret alliance for the purpose with Bolivia, Peru fought a desperate war with Chili, and lost the province of Tarapaca, and provisionally the department of Tacna (see under *Chili*).

Area, 468,747 square miles. Population, about 3,000,000, of whom considerably more than half are aboriginals.

GOVERNMENT.

The present Constitution was adopted in 1856 and revised in 1860. There are, as in other South American Republics, an executive President, a Senate and House of Representatives; but the conditions of government are not so liberal as in the majority of republican States. The President is assisted by two Vice-Presidents, one senior to the other, with the first right of succession in case of a vacancy. These three office-holders are elected every four years. An Executive Council of five ministers, directly responsible to the President, is nominated by him at the time of his entering on his term of office; and he, not the Congress, has the power of removing them.

The twenty Departments nominate two members each to the Senate—which includes representatives of Tacna.

The House of Representatives contains 110 members, returned by indirect election—the districts choosing electors who then meet in the chief towns of the Department, and select Deputies in the ratio of one to every 20,000 inhabitants.

The local government of the Departments, like the central State government, has been somewhat disorganized by war

and internal dissensions, so that the Constitution may be said to be in a large measure suspended.

The established religion is Roman Catholic, and other forms of public worship are prohibited. Education is very imperfect, State aid being limited to the denominational schools of the established Church.

The finances of Peru are greatly disorganized, and no recent returns of Revenue and Expenditure are available. The public debt approximates to £50,000,000; the interest is not paid, and the expenditure is considerably in excess of income. In short, Peru has been practically ruined by the warlike policy which it adopted some fifteen years ago. The country is very fertile, and has excellent means of intercommunication, so that a steady commercial policy may still enable it to recover its position.

SALVADOR.

The Republic of Salvador (capital, San Salvador) lies on the Pacific coast, between Guatemala and Honduras. It is the smallest and relatively the most populous of the Central American States—area, 7,226 square miles. Population (in 1885), 634,120.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution, proclaimed in 1864, and modified on several subsequent occasions, gives the executive power to a President, elected by universal suffrage (except domestic servants and persons of no legal occupation) every four years. If no election is made by an absolute majority of votes, the Assembly (of both Houses combined) makes its selection from the three candidates highest on the poll; and three Senators are at the

same time (and in any case) elected to supply the place of the President in order, in the event of a vacancy before the end of the term. The President is ineligible for a second continuous term.

The Senate includes twelve members elected for two years, and the House of Representatives should contain one deputy for every 15,000 inhabitants.

For local administration the country is divided into fourteen departments, containing twenty-nine districts and 228 communal townships.

Education is on the whole better attended to than in the neighbouring States; and the Roman Catholic religion is recognized by the Government, with toleration for other forms.

The Revenue exceeds £812,500, and practically balances the Expenditure. There is no foreign debt, but a public internal debt amounting to about £610,000.

SAN DOMINGO.

The Republic of San Domingo (capital, San Domingo) was finally abandoned by Spain in 1865. (See *Hayti*.) A new Constitution was adopted in 1867, and revised on subsequent occasions.

Area, 20,590 square miles. Population, about 350,000, being mainly negroes, with a small number of Spaniards and half-breeds.

The Republic is nominally federal, the five States being regarded as independent of each other, though under a common supreme administration.

GOVERNMENT.

Under the Constitution, a President and a Senate of nine

members are elected every six years by limited suffrage, and a House of fifteen deputies by the same suffrage every two years. The President appoints his ministers, who are responsible to Congress.

The Revenue of the country shows a tendency to increase, relatively to the Expenditure. In 1885 the amounts were about £282,000 and £157,400 respectively. The foreign debt amounts to about £600,000.

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

The South African Republic, or Transvaal (capital, Pretoria), was formed like the Orange Free State by Boers migrating northward from the Cape Colony, and across the Vaal river and the Drakensberg. The most numerous settlement was made on the annexation of Natal by Great Britain, in 1845. The State has recently absorbed the new Republic of Zululand. It is bounded on the South by the Orange State, Natal, and Zululand; on the east by Zululand, Swaziland, and the Portuguese territory adjacent to Delagoa Bay; on the west by Bechuanaland, and on the north by the Limpopo river.

Area, about 140,000 square miles. Population, about 750,000, of whom between 50,000 and 60,000 are European—mainly Dutch.

GOVERNMENT.

The independence of the country was recognized by a Convention in 1853, and a very wordy Constitution was published in 1858. This document was based upon the Orange Constitution, with many additions on the subjects of law and justice, military organization, procedure, taxation, and police.

Between 1877 and 1881 the independence of the country

was suspended, but it was again recognized in the last-named year, when a Convention was signed by the Queen's representatives and the Transvaal Government, laying down the principles on which the future administration of the State was to rest. This Convention modified the Constitution of 1858 in several important respects, and its main provisions may be noted here.

The Queen conferred and guaranteed "complete self-government," on condition of the observance of her suzerainty, "in the terms, under the conditions and reservations, and with the limitations," set forth in the document. The Queen reserved the right of nominating a British Resident, the right of passage for her troops in time or danger of war, and the right of controlling the foreign relations of the State, including the treaty power, and diplomatic negotiations with foreign Powers. Natives received the power of acquiring land, and of free movement within the State, (these rights having been barred in the Constitution of 1858). Religious freedom was guaranteed (having been limited in 1858). Slavery and apprenticeship were abjured. The British Resident was charged with the protection of the natives. A Native Location Commission was established, including the President, the Resident, and a third member agreed upon by them, having for its object to secure the natives in their defined territories. Limits were imposed on the taxation of British merchandise, and stipulations were made for the free entry and residence of persons of all nationalities.

In 1884, however, a new Convention was signed, by which little more than the name of British suzerainty was retained.

The Constitution as amended on several occasions provides for a Volksraad of 44 members, elected by the

burghers and rural voters in the 15 Districts—the franchise being obtained by a residence of five years and a contribution to the State of £25. The President of the State and the Executive Council are elected as in the Orange State.

The Revenue and Expenditure slightly exceed a quarter of a million. The Public Debt is about £400,000—equal to the estimated value of the State lands. The tariff is high and capricious, including in some cases almost prohibitory differential duties.

SWITZERLAND.

The Federal Republic of Switzerland (capital, Berne) has Austria on the east, Germany on the north, France on the west, and Italy on the south. Its position is therefore of the utmost importance from an international point of view.

A small Swiss Confederation was formed in 1308 by Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwald, to which other cantons adhered from time to time. At the beginning of the Napoleonic wars there were thirteen cantons, and Napoleon added St. Gall, Grisons, Aargau, Thurgau, Ticino, and Vaud. At the general readjustment of the map of Europe by the allied Powers, in 1814–15, the number of cantons was increased to twenty-two, by the confederation of Valais, Neuchâtel, and Geneva.

Switzerland had been a base of operations for the Allies in their war against France, until they were driven out by Masséna, in 1799. The Directory had written "Helvetic Republic" over the former "Confederation," and in 1803 Buonaparte secured at the same time its consolidation and its neutrality. The Treaty of Vienna contained a more formal recognition of the independence and inviolability of Switzerland than had been furnished by the Treaty of

Westphalia in 1648 ; and from that time forward the international position of the Republic has been conceded and confirmed on various occasions by all the Powers.

The foundations of the present Constitution were strengthened in 1830, between which year and 1848 a severe struggle was waged for the secular principle in national education. The cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Freiburg, Zug, and Valais, formed a Sonderbund in 1846, pledged to support the schools of the Jesuits and the Roman ecclesiastical system generally. The remaining cantons declared the illegality of this combination, and at the same time decreed the expulsion of the Jesuits. On an appeal to arms the majority were victorious, the Sonderbund was broken up, and the secularization of monastic property followed. In 1848 a new federal Constitution was adopted, but not put into operation. Various objections were raised against it, and the discussion was continued for a quarter of a century ; but at length the instrument was accepted, in a revised form, in 1874, by a popular vote of 321,870 against 177,800.

In the meantime, in 1861, an old frontier dispute with France led to a violation of Swiss territory by the French troops ; and the question was ultimately arranged by a simultaneous cession of districts for the creation of a neutral zone, which both countries pledged themselves not to occupy at any time with fortresses or troops. The Vallée des Dappes is therefore a neutralized frontier between the two countries.

The following table shows the area and population of the country in 1880. The population is now (1887) estimated at about 2,960,000. The order of the Cantons is that of their admission to the Confederation.

CANTONS.	Square Miles.	Population.
Schwyz	851	51,285
Unterwalden, Upper	180	15,856
Unterwalden, Lower	116	11,992
Uri	415	23,694
Lucerne (Luzern)	2,026	134,806
Zurich	665	317,576
Glaris (Glarus)	267	84,218
Zoug (Zug)	92	22,994
Berne (Bern)	2,660	532,164
Fribourg (Freiburg)	644	115,400
Soleure (Solothurn)	808	80,424
Bâle, town (Basel)	14	66,101
Bâle, rural	168	50,271
Schaffhouse (Schaffhausen)	116	88,848
Appenzell, Exterior	98	51,959
Appenzell, Interior	69	12,841
St. Gall	780	210,491
Grisons (Graubünden)	2,774	94,991
Argovie (Aargau)	542	198,645
Thurgovie (Thurgau)	882	99,552
Tessin (Ticino)	1,095	130,777
Vaud (Waudt)	1,245	238,730
Geneva (Genf)	109	101,595
Neuchâtel (Neuenburg)	812	108,732
Valais (Wallis)	2,026	105,216
	15,892	2,846,102

Of the total population in 1880, it was computed that 2,080,792 spoke German, forming a majority in fifteen Cantons; 608,007 spoke French, with a majority in five Cantons. The majority in Ticino spoke Italian, and in the Grisons a form of Roumansch. The five Cantons in which a majority speak French in the main are Fribourg, Vaud, Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Valais. In the remainder German is the prevailing tongue, being spoken in most of them by 98 or 99 per cent. of the population.

GOVERNMENT.

The Confederating Act of 1815 was not added to or revised before 1848, though in 1832 an effort was made to

secure a greater centralization of authority. The Constitution debated and adopted in 1848, by the vote of fifteen and a-half Cantons against six and a-half, was one of the earliest and most peaceable results of the general revolutionary movement of that year. By this instrument the Cantons, as sovereign States, combined to set up a common federal Government—and in this respect the present political organization of Switzerland is in close resemblance with that of the United States. But the strongest advocates of centralization were not satisfied with the form which had been adopted, and in 1869 a revision was proposed, and the discussion was actively carried on during the next three years. In 1872 a new draft was submitted by the Assembly to a popular vote, and was rejected by 260,859 against 255,606—or thirteen Cantons to nine. Too great power had been assigned to the central Legislature in matters affecting local and cantonal rights. The Constitution was amended in this and a few other particulars, and was finally accepted in 1874 by a vote of 340,199 against 198,013—fourteen and a-half Cantons to seven and a-half.

The Constitution of 1874 declares that the Confederation has for its object to insure the independence of the country against foreign control, to preserve the tranquillity and the rights of the Cantons, and to increase their common well-being. "The Cantons are sovereign in as far as their sovereignty is not limited by the Federal Constitution, and, as such, they exercise all the rights which are not delegated to the federal authority. All citizens are equal before the law. There are in Switzerland neither subjects, nor local privileges, nor privileges of birth, individuals, or families. The Confederation guarantees the territory of the Cantons their sovereignty as aforesaid, the liberty and rights of the

people, the constitutional rights of the citizens, and the rights and powers conferred by the people on the authorities." The guarantee of the Cantonal Constitutions is assured upon the conditions "that those Constitutions include nothing contrary to the provisions of the Federal Constitution—that they maintain the enjoyment of political rights according to republican forms, representative or democratic—that they have been accepted by the people, and that they may be revised when an absolute majority of the people demand it." All special political treaties between Cantons are forbidden. "The Cantons have the right of forming conventions with each other on questions of legislation, administration and justice, but they must bring them to the knowledge of the Federal authority, which, if those conventions include anything contrary to the Confederation or to the rights of other Cantons, is authorized to prevent their operation. If otherwise, the contracting Cantons may claim the aid of the Federal authorities in giving effect to them."

The Confederation alone has the right to declare war and conclude peace, as well as to make alliances and treaties with foreign States, especially commercial treaties. But the Cantons reserve the right of concluding with foreign States any treaty affecting general administration, local intercourse, and police, so long as such treaties contain nothing injurious to the Confederation or to the rights of other Cantons. Official relations between Cantons and foreign Governments are carried on through the Federal Council. But the Cantons may have direct relations with the subordinate authorities of other States, for other purposes indicated above.

The Confederation may not support a standing army,

and no Canton may have more than 300 men under arms. "If disputes arise between Cantons, these shall abstain from all recourse to violence or arms. They shall submit themselves to the decision taken upon these disputes in conformity with the Federal regulations." That is to say, in case of necessity the Federal Council summons the Assembly; or it may demand the aid of other Cantons, which are bound to give it; or "it is authorized to raise troops and to employ them, on condition of immediately summoning the Cantonal Councils, if the number of troops raised should exceed 2,000, or if they remain under arms for more than three weeks." Every citizen is liable to military service. If a soldier lose his life, or permanently injure his health, he or his family acquires a claim upon the Confederation in case of need.

Subsequent articles regulate the military training and employment of citizens, the power of the Federal authorities in regard to public works, the maintenance of free, compulsory, and undenominational education, the principles of taxation and Cantonal tariffs, consistently with general free trade, the right of domicile, municipal and communal rights, and the general toleration of religious belief and worship. Nevertheless "the Order of Jesuits, and the societies affiliated thereto, may not be admitted into any part of Switzerland, and all intervention by their members in the church or in the schools is forbidden." No new convents or religious orders may be established. Freedom of the press, of association, of petition, of local trial and trial by jury, is guaranteed.

The parliamentary government of the country is carried on by two Houses—the States Council (*Stände Rath*), and the National Council (*Rath*). The States Council has 44

members, made up of two deputies from the Assembly of each Canton, irrespective of its size—the manner and time of election being left to the Assemblies in question. Some of the Cantons renew their members yearly, some every three years, and Valais every second year. Members are paid by their Cantons.

CANTONS.	Stände-Rath.	National-Rath.	Date of Constitution; and Character of Cantonal Government.	
			Executive.	Legislative.
Schwyz	2	8	1876; Regierungsrath & Kantonsrath.	
Unterwalden, Upper .. .	1	2	1867; Regierungsrath & Landsgemeinde.	
Unterwalden, Lower .. .	1		1877; Regierungsrath & Landsgemeinde.	
Uri	2	1	1860; Regierungsrath & Landsgemeinde.	
Lucerne (Luzern) .. .	2	7	1875; Regierungsrath & Grosser Rath.	
Zürich	2	16	1869; Regierungsrath & Kantonsrath.	
Glarus (Glarus) .. .	2	2	1842; Standeskommission & Landsgemeinde.	
Zoug (Zug)	2	1	1878; Regierungsrath & Kantonsrath.	
Berne (Bern)	2	27	1846; Regierungsrath & Grosser Rath.	
Fribourg (Freiburg) .. .	2	6	1857; Staatsrath & Grosser Rath.	
Soleure (Solothurn) .. .	2	4	1875; Regierungsrath & Kantonsrath.	
Bâle, town (Basel) .. .	1	6	1875; Regierungsrath & Grosser Rath.	
Bâle, rural	1		1868; Regierungsrath & Landrath.	
Schaffhouse (Schaffhausen)	2	2	1876; Regierungsrath & Grosser Rath.	
Appenzell, Exterior .. .	1	4	1876; Regierungsrath & Landsgemeinde.	
Appenzell, Interior .. .	1		1872; Standeskommission & Landsgemeinde.	
St. Gall	2	10	1861; Regierungsrath & Grosser Rath.	
Grisons (Graubünden) .. .	2	5	1880; Kleiner Rath, Standes., & Grosser Rath.	
Argovie (Aargau) .. .	2	10	1852; Regierungsrath & Grosser Rath.	
Thurgovie (Thurgau) .. .	2	5	1869; Regierungsrath & Grosser Rath.	
Tessin (Ticino)	2	7	1880; Consiglio di Stato & Gran Consiglio.	
Vaud (Waadt)	2	12	1861; Conseil d'Etat & Grand Conseil.	
Geneva (Genf)	2	5	1847; Conseil d'Etat & Grand Conseil.	
Neuchâtel (Neuenburg) .. .	2	5	1858; Conseil d'Etat & Grand Conseil.	
Valais (Wallis)	2	5	1875; Staatsrath & Grosser Rath.	
	44	145		

The National Council of 145 members is elected every three years, in the ratio of one for every 20,000 of the population. The election is direct, by all citizens who have attained the age of twenty years. About 22·5 per cent. of the population, or more than one-fifth, are thus enfranchised. Clergymen alone are disqualified as candi-

dates, though they are eligible to the Bundesrath, or Federal Council. This body has seven members, nominated every three years by the Cantonal Councils. It is the supreme executive authority, and has the general direction of federal affairs. Its members have a consultative voice in the two Chambers of the Assembly, and the right of legislative initiation. They are paid (like the Members of the National Council) from the State Treasury.

By an Act passed in 1874, the principle of *referendum* was introduced in the Federal Assembly. Every measure passed by this Assembly must be referred to a popular vote on the demand of eight Cantons, or of 30,000 electors. The Federal Assembly must, on the motion of either House, or on the demand of 50,000 electors, refer to a like plebiscite the question of revising the Constitution, publishing at the same time a draft of the amendments proposed by the Assembly or the electors. Nineteen references on laws and resolutions passed by the Assembly had been made up to 1886, with the result that thirteen were rejected by the people.

The President of the Confederation presides over the Federal Council. This is his only distinctive capacity. He is elected annually by the Federal Assembly from amongst the members of the Federal Council, and has a salary of £600. A Vice-President is elected at the same time. The members of the Council have a salary of £480.

The form of Cantonal Government is in most respects the same as that which has just been described. All the Cantons have two Councils—one of the State, and another or Greater Council, of the “land,” or the people. All except Freiburg have adopted the *referendum*, either obligatory or

“*facultative.*” The Landsgemeinde of Uri, Unterwalden, Glarus, and Appenzell, are simple open-air moots, or assemblies of the male population, who adopt their laws and elect their officers by universal vote. Berne has a special Constitution, adopted in 1846, and ratified by the Federal Assembly. It sets out with the declaration that “the people of Berne constitute, in their actual territorial indivisibility, a democratic republic, and a Canton of the Swiss Confederation.”

The Bundesgericht, or Federal Tribunal, consists of nine members, elected by the Assembly for a term of three years. Its jurisdiction (in this respect similar to that of the United States Supreme Court) is over all matters of dispute between Canton and Canton, or between the Cantons and the Federal Council or Assembly. It sits at Lausanne, and is at different times (in the persons of different members) a Civil Court, a Criminal Court, and a Court of Appeal. Trial by jury is established in criminal cases.

Education in Switzerland is compulsory, secular, and free. This is true so far as the Federal laws are concerned; but the several Cantons are autonomous in regard to the enforcement of the law. Thus in the Cantons where the Roman Catholic religion prevails, compulsion is not practised, and the rate of school-attendance is not nearly so high as in the remainder. Again, though the schools are free to the majority, and, where compulsion exists, they are resorted to by all classes, the wealthier parents are expected to pay fees.

In addition to the primary, secondary, and normal schools, there is a Government polytechnic school at

Zurich, a military school at Thun, and four universities, at Basel, Zurich, Geneva, and Berne.

About 60 per cent. of the population are Protestants of the Swiss Calvinistic Church, which is governed by its own elders, under the control of the local secular authorities. The remaining 40 per cent. are Roman Catholics.

Finance. The main sources of revenue are the customs duties levied on the frontiers of the Republic (£840,000 in the estimates for 1887), and the produce of real estate and invested funds (£454,000). There are small balances from the postal and telegraph services, and from some other branches of administration, but there is no direct taxation, and the federal authorities have very few requirements. The total revenue of the State in 1887 was estimated at £2,088,160—about fourteen shillings per head; and a considerable portion of this sum was handed over to the Cantonal Governments.

The public debt is £1,428,539, involving an annual charge of £74,716, and secured upon the property of the State as mentioned above.

The aggregate cantonal debts are about £13,000,000. By the terms of the Constitution the several Cantons are debarred from levying octroi duties on their common frontiers. In addition to the contributions which they receive from the federal treasury, they have the power of raising direct or indirect taxation for their several needs; and in some Cantons there are direct taxes on incomes and property.

UNITED STATES.

The Federal Republic of the United States of America (capital, Washington) occupies the continent of North Ame-

rica between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and between Mexico on the south and Canada on the north. The Canadian frontier starts with the 49th parallel of latitude on the west, and is continued by the chain of lakes from Superior to Ottawa, and thence along the southern boundary of New Brunswick. The outlying District of Alaska, on the north-west of Canada, was purchased from Russia in 1867 for 7,200,000 dollars, and is the only portion of the Republic, except the District of Columbia on which Washington is built, which has no separate legislative government.

The total area of the United States, including the Territories and Alaska, is 3,602,900 square miles. Population, 50,155,788, giving nearly 14 to the square mile—the figures, so far as population is concerned, being taken, here and subsequently, from the census of 1880. The proportion of races is as follows: White, 43,402,970; Coloured, 6,580,798; Chinese, 105,618; Taxed Indians, 66,407. The untaxed Indians, excluded from the census, are estimated at about a quarter of a million. The immigration of Chinese, which in 1882 had reached the number of 35,614, has since that year been almost entirely stopped.

The population of the Republic in 1888 probably reaches sixty-five millions. Twelve States took a census of their population in 1885, and showed an average increase of 22·5 per cent. for the five years.

As the United States have been peopled mainly by immigration, it becomes a matter of importance, even as affecting national and local government, to consider the sources from which the population of the country has been recruited. The British elements have at all times largely preponderated. The number of free immigrants arriving

from different countries in the years 1820 to 1879 inclusive is as follows : *

England	894,444	Portugal	9,062
Ireland	8,065,761	Russia	88,816
Scotland	159,547	Spain	28,091
Wales	17,898	Sweden-Norway ...	306,092
Great Britain, not specified	560,458	Switzerland	88,709
		Turkey	619
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total British Isles	4,698,008	Total Europe ...	8,746,921
Austria-Hungary ...	65,588	Asia	228,047
Belgium	28,267	Africa	1,631
Denmark	48,620	British America ...	568,941
France	818,716	Other American countries... ..	97,007
Germany	8,002,027	Pacific Islands ...	10,474
Greece	885	All other	255,778
Italy	70,181		
Netherlands	44,819		
Poland	14,881	Aggregate	9,908,799

This gives an average influx of 165,000 every year. The number in 1882 was 788,992, which is the highest point hitherto reached. In 1886 it had fallen to 334,203; but there was again a large increase in 1887.

The following figures, taken from the census returns of 1880, show the origin of the *foreign-born* population in that year :—

Africa (not specified)	2,204	Austria	38,663
Asia (not specified)	1,054	Belgium	15,535
Atlantic Islands ...	7,512	Bohemia	85,861
Australia	4,906	British America ...	717,084

* These figures, with other statistical information in regard to the United States, are taken from the excellent *American Almanac*, edited by Mr. A. R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress.

Central America ...	707	Scotland	170,186
China	104,541	Wales	88,802
Cuba	6,917	Great Britain (not specified) ...	1,484
Denmark	64,196		
Europe (not speci- fied)	8,814	Total, Great Britain and Ireland ...	2,772,169
France	106,971	Greece	776
German Empire :		Greenland	129
Baden	127,885	Holland	58,090
Bavaria	171,699	Hungary	11,526
Brunswick... ..	4,624	India	1,707
Hamburg	8,854	Italy	44,280
Hanover	102,594	Japan	401
Hesse... ..	72,490	Luxemburg	12,886
Lubeck	264	Malta	805
Mecklenburg ...	45,959	Mexico	68,899
Nassau	6,258	Norway	181,729
Oldenburg... ..	9,924	Pacific Islands ...	806
Prussia (not spe- cified)	634,880	Poland	48,557
Saxony	48,708	Portugal	8,188
Weimar	685	Russia	35,722
Wurtemberg ...	108,228	Sandwich Islands...	1,147
Germany (not spe- cified)	624,200	South America ...	4,566
Total Germany ...	1,966,742	Spain	5,121
Gibraltar	167	Sweden	194,887
Great Britain :		Switzerland	88,621
England	662,676	Turkey	1,205
Ireland	1,854,571	West Indies	9,484
		At sea under foreign flags	4,068

The total population born abroad was 6,679,948—that is to say, between one-sixth and one-seventh of the aggregate white population of the States.

The thirteen States which originally constituted the Union are as follows :—

	Sq. Miles.	Population, 1880.	Settled.	Ratified Consti- tution.
New Hampshire	9,305	846,991	about 1623	June, 1788
Massachusetts	8,815	1,788,085	1620	Feb., 1788
Rhode Island	1,250	276,581	1636	May, 1790
Connecticut	4,990	622,700	1630	Jan., 1788
New York	49,170	5,082,871	1614	July, 1788
New Jersey	7,815	1,131,116	1620	Dec., 1787
Pennsylvania	45,215	4,282,891	1585	Dec., 1787
Delaware	2,050	146,608	1637	Dec., 1787
Maryland	12,210	934,943	1634	April, 1788
Virginia	42,450	1,512,565	1606	Jan., 1788
North Carolina	52,250	1,399,750	1660	Nov., 1789
South Carolina	80,570	995,577	separated 1729	May, 1788
Georgia	59,475	1,542,180	1782	Jan., 1788

The following twenty-five States have since been added under the Constitution :—

	Area.	Population.	Origin.	Admis- sion.
Kentucky	40,400	1,648,690	Part of Virginia.	1791
Vermont	9,565	332,236	Part of New Hampshire and New York	—
Tennessee	42,050	1,542,359	Part of North Carolina	1796
Ohio	41,060	3,198,062	Ceded by France, 1763	1803
Louisiana	48,720	939,946	Purchased from France, 1803	1812
Indiana	36,350	1,978,301	Part of Ohio	1816
Mississippi	46,810	1,131,597	Part of Georgia	1817
Illinois	56,650	3,077,871	Ceded by France, 1763	1818
Alabama	52,250	1,262,505	Part of Georgia	1819
Maine	33,040	648,986	Part of Massachusetts	1820
Missouri	69,415	2,168,380	Part of Louisiana	1821
Arkansas	53,850	802,525	"	1836
Michigan	58,915	1,696,987	Settlement	1837
Florida	58,680	269,493	Ceded by Spain, 1820	1845
Iowa	56,025	1,624,615	Settlement	—
Texas	265,780	1,591,749	Annexed	—
Wisconsin	56,040	1,315,497	Extended Settlement	1847
California	158,360	864,694	Part of Mexico; ceded 1848	1850
Minnesota	83,865	780,773	Extended Settlement	1858
Oregon	96,030	174,763	"	1859
Kansas	82,080	696,096	"	1861
West Virginia	24,780	618,457	Part of Virginia	1863
Nevada	110,700	62,266	Extended Settlement	1864
Nebraska	76,855	452,402	Admitted over President's veto	1867
Colorado	108,925	194,327	Settlement	1875

The following are Territories with separate governments :—

New Mexico	122,580	119,565	Annexed, 1846.
Utah	84,970	143,968	Admitted, 1850
Washington	69,180	75,116	" 1853
Dakota	149,100	185,177	" 1861
Arizona	118,000	40,440	" 1863
Idaho	84,800	82,610	" —
Montana	146,080	89,159	" 1864
Wyoming	97,590	20,789	" 1890

The Indian Territory, created in 1834, without territorial government, has an area of 64,690 square miles, and a population of about 60,000. The natives in the reserves are governed by, but not subject to the ordinary laws of, the supreme Government.

The District of Columbia (Washington city), created in 1790, now includes 70 square miles, and a population (for the city) of 147,298.

The District of Alaska, created in 1867, has an area of about 577,390 square miles, and a population (Whites, Aleuts, Innuits, and Indians) of 30,178.

A main distinction between the States and the Territories is that, whilst the States, which were formerly independent of each other, retain all the rights which they have not surrendered to Congress, the Territories have only such rights as Congress has conferred upon them. Their chief officials are nominated by the President, and are removable by him, or by the Senate of the Union.

The United States have conducted two wars with Great Britain, in 1775–83,* and in 1812–15,† and a war with Mexico (on account of Texas) in Wars.

* It was in 1781 that the Articles of Confederation were agreed upon, and the United States became one nation.

† Diplomatic relations with Great Britain were suspended in May, 1856, on a question as to the right of recruiting.

1845-48. One of the results of this war was the cession of New Mexico and California. The Civil war between the North and South in 1861-65 not only brought about the emancipation of the slaves, but also confirmed the claim of the Union to prevent by force the secession of particular States. In this not very satisfactory manner the greatest of the federal Republics dealt with the most formidable of the dangers which beset the path of every federation.

The Land System. The Public Land system in the United States is very methodical, being regulated by sundry Acts of Congress, of which the following account is taken from *The American Almanac* for 1887 :—

“ The public lands of the United States which are still undisposed of and open to settlement lie in nineteen States and eight Territories. In each case, except Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, the Indian Territory, and Alaska, land offices are established, in charge of an officer known as Registrar of the Land Office, where the records of all surveyed lands are kept, and all applications concerning lands in each district are filed and inquiries answered. The public lands are divided into two great classes. The one class have a dollar and a quarter an acre designated as the minimum price, and the other two dollars and a half an acre, the latter being the alternate sections, reserved by the United States in land grants to railroads, &c. Titles to these lands may be acquired by private entry or location under the homestead, preëmption, and timber-culture laws; or, as to some classes, by purchase for cash, in the case of lands which may be purchased at private sale, or such as have not been reserved under any law. Such tracts are sold on application to the Land Registrar, who issues a certificate of purchase, the receiver giving a receipt for the money

paid, subject to the issue of a patent, or complete title, if the proceedings are found regular, by the Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington.

“Entries under land warrants (given mostly for military services under Acts of Congress) have fallen off very largely by the absorption of such warrants, there having been no military bounty land warrants provided for on account of services in the late war. Entries under the preëmption law are restricted to heads of families, or citizens over twenty-one, who may settle upon any quarter section (or 160 acres), and have the right of prior claim to purchase on complying with certain regulations.

“The homestead laws give the right to one hundred and sixty acres of a dollar-and-a-quarter lands, or to eighty acres of two-dollar-and-a-half lands, to any citizen or applicant for citizenship over twenty-one who will actually settle upon and cultivate the land. This privilege extends only to the surveyed lands, and the title is perfected by the issue of a patent after five years of actual settlement. The only charges in the case of homestead entries are fees and commissions, varying from a minimum of 7 dollars to a maximum of 34 dollars for the whole tract entered, according to the size, value, or place of record.

“Another large class of free entries of public lands is that provided for under the timber-culture acts of 1873-78. The purpose of these laws is to promote the growth of forest trees on the public lands. They give the right to any settler who has cultivated for two years as much as five acres in trees to an eighty-acre homestead, or, if ten acres, to a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres, and a free patent for his land is given him at the end of eight years instead of five. The limitation of the homestead

laws to one hundred and sixty acres for each settler is extended in the case of timber-culture so as to grant as many quarter sections of one hundred and sixty acres each as have been improved by the culture for ten years of forty acres of timber thereon, but the quarter sections must not lie immediately contiguous. The fees and commissions in timber-culture entries vary from 13 dollars to 18 dollars for the tract."

The total area of public land surveyed and disposable (with certain exceptions) in the nineteen States and eight Territories, up to June, 1886, was 971,174,878 acres. The unsurveyed public and Indian lands at the same date exceeded 840 millions of acres—making an aggregate area of 2,836,725 square miles.

There were in 1886, 9,145,135 acres disposed of in homestead entries, and 5,391,809 acres in timber-culture entries.

The census of 1880 estimated the area of the farms then under cultivation in the different States and Territories at 539,309,179 acres, and their value at £2,039,419,355.

The disposal of the public lands of the Union raises a question of primary importance to the country, and one which is already on occasion made the stalking-horse of party. Jealousy has been aroused by the assignment of large grants, not merely to railway companies, far beyond what was necessary for the construction of their permanent way, but also to wealthy syndicates and corporations of various kinds, who have found powerful friends on the Land Committees of Congress. "The public land," it is urged, "ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations should be restored to the public domain; and no more grants of land should

be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien guarantees." This expresses the idea of what is known as the Chicago Democratic platform. A similar question has arisen in every settled country with ample margin for the population. In some instances (as in Canada) fines have actually been paid by the Government by way of equitable redemption of grants.

According to the public law of the United States, as expressed in a declaration of the Attorney-General in 1887, none but naturalized citizens may hold property in land or mines in a Territory of the Union—nor can aliens in combination hold more than 20 per cent. of the property of a company therein—though they can in a State.

GOVERNMENT.

The Federal Constitution of the United States, as agreed upon by the Convention in 1787, in the twelfth year of independence, is a document of the greatest historical importance. It has been taken as a model in the framing of many more recent constitutions; and it is so frequently referred to in contemporary discussions that it may be useful in this place to quote it in its entirety. The substantial text is divided into six Articles, of which the first deals with the powers of the legislative Congress, the second with those of the President, as the repository of the executive authority, the third with the judiciary power, the fourth with the privileges and immunities of States, the fifth with the revisory power, and the sixth with the supreme effect and guarantee of the Constitution.

Article I.

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United Legisla-
ture.

States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Election of Section 2. The House of Representatives shall
Repre- be composed of members chosen every second
sentatives. year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for the electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

•No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until each enumeration shall be made [a number is assigned to each of the 13 original States].

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker

and other officers ; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States Election of shall be composed of two senators from each Senators. State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years ; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall have assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year ; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year ; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year ; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their own officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all Impeach-
impeachments. When sitting for that purpose ment.
they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President
of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall

preside. And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof: but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Authority of the Houses. Section 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The senators and representatives **Rights of** shall receive a compensation for their services, to **Members.** be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising revenue shall **Bills.** originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass

the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate or House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a Bill.

Functions of Congress. Section 8. The Congress shall have power—
To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States :

To borrow money on the credit of the United States :

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes :

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subjects of bankruptcies throughout the United States :

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures :

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States :

To establish post-offices and post-roads :

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries :

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court :

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations :

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water :

To raise and support armies ; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years :

To provide and maintain a navy :

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces :

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions :

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such parts of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress :

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square), as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the

United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings : And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Union Section 9. The migration or importation of **Legislature** such persons as any of the States now existing **Restricted.** shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the *census* or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties, in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriation made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under

them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any **State** treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters **Legislatures** of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit **Restricted.** bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duties of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II.

Section 1. The executive power shall be vested **Executive.** in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as **Election of** the legislature thereof may direct, a number of **President.**

electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress : but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each ; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President ; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them

by ballot the Vice-President. (See Amendment 12, below).

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes ; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President ; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Duties of President. Section 2. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States; and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their Constitution such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall

think proper ; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers ; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article III.

Section 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and **The** **Judiciary.** in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the superior and inferior court, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; to controversies between two or more States ; between a State and citizens of another State ; between citizens of different States ; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States ; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party,

the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

Article IV.

Privileges of States. Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service to labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

Article V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of

the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

Supremacy of the Constitution. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious

test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Such is the original Constitution. There have **Amend-** been up to this time fifteen amendments, of **ments** which eleven were passed previous to 1804.

1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.—2. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.—3. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.—4. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.—5. No persons shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.—6. In all

criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.—7. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.—8. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.—9. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.—10. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.—11. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

A twelfth amendment was passed in 1804, dealing with the method of electing the President and Vice-President. It annuls the third paragraph of Article 2, Section 1, of the Constitution, and provides that the electors in their respective States shall vote by distinct tickets for President and Vice-President (one of whom at least shall not be resident in the same State as themselves). The lists of

the several States are then to be sealed and forwarded to the President of the Senate, who shall open and count them in presence of the combined Congress. The candidate who has the greatest number of electoral votes shall be the President; but if there be no absolute majority, the House of Representatives shall at once proceed to elect a President from the three candidates with the greatest number of votes—the election in this case being by States, one vote to be allowed to each State, two-thirds of the States at least taking part in the election, and an absolute majority (that is, not fewer than 20) being required. If there is no electoral majority for the Vice-President, that officer is to be chosen by the Senate from the two highest candidates in a similar manner.

The thirteenth amendment, declaring the abolition of slavery, was passed in 1865. It could not in the strictest sense be immediately ratified by three-fourths of the States, inasmuch as the seceders were not re-admitted before 1868 and 1870, but its ratification was one of the conditions of re-admission. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, passed in 1868 and 1870, provide against the re-introduction of slavery, forbid the repudiation of the public debts, and confer equal electoral rights on former slaves.

There are some aspects of the United States Constitution which deserve to be specially noted.

Features
of the
Constitu-
tion.

In many of its leading principles it rests upon the old and gradually developed Constitution of Great Britain. The special rights and guarantees of the representative House, the securities for free speech, freedom of person and meeting, trial by jury and *habeas corpus*, im-

peachment by the popular House before the Senate—such points as these, together with much of the terminology of the document in its declaratory portions, plainly show its British origin.

The earlier articles, though they are in some respects a natural and logical deduction from the scheme of representative government established in England, have a greater claim to originality ; and it is upon the methods here laid down that the majority of republics created within the last hundred years have founded their Constitutions.

The United States Government is a political instrument created by a confederation of sovereign States for their common use and benefit. In so far as the thirteen original States were not actually equal in power, or numbers, or authority, they made themselves so in the Constitution of the Senate ; and not only so, but they agreed beforehand that every State which might thereafter be admitted to the Union should have as large a share as any of them in the government of the whole community—that is to say, two votes in the Senate, and a numerical proportion of votes in the House of Representatives.

But though great stress is rightly laid upon the distinct character of the United States as a combination of sovereign nations for their mutual profit, it is well to bear in mind that this applies to thirteen only of the thirty-eight States now forming the Union. After the first confederation States were admitted on constantly varying conditions, but by no means all on a basis of antecedent sovereignty. Kentucky (the 14th), Vermont (15th), Tennessee (16th), Maine (23rd), and West Virginia (35th), were carved out of the original sovereign States, and may thus in a sense be said to have been endowed with self-rule by the supreme government.

Some, like Louisiana, were taken over from their European sovereigns, then trained as "territories" during a course of years, and finally admitted to the Union as self-ruling States. Texas and California were spoils of war. It is to be noted also that the most important amendments to the Constitution were effected by force of arms, when a majority of States vindicated their contention that neither original sovereignty (in the case of South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina) nor any less powerful warrant could entitle a State to secede from the federation.

Nevertheless, in providing for the government of the Union, the makers of the Constitution were able to dismiss from their minds all anxiety on the score of local administration, whether legislative, executive, or judicial. They worked on the basis of orderly self-governed States, and their chief care was to establish a supreme authority under these same three heads—executive, legislative, and judicial—without infringing too much on the internal privileges of the States. This they accomplished with much success by combining the equality of States in the Senate with a full recognition of the rights of majorities, at the same time reducing the chance of serious friction or jealousy by leaving to a Supreme Court the final interpretation of the Constitution.

One of the most important features in the Constitution, especially as compared with that of Great Britain, is the marked distinction which it draws between the legislative and the executive power. The President has very slight control over legislation, and Congress has no direct and immediate control over the executive. The President's Cabinet of Ministers, though their appointment must have

the sanction of the Senate, are not responsible to the House of Representatives. The Constitution makes the holding of public office practically incompatible with a seat in Congress; and this rule undoubtedly saves the United States from many of the deadlocks and ministerial crises familiar in Great Britain.

It has been said that the Convention of 1787 must have had in view the British theory of government by King, Lords, and Commons, and that they imitated it by the relations which they established between their President, Senate, and House of Representatives. But in reality the resemblance is not very close. The House of Commons is (and was virtually then) supreme in Great Britain. The House of Representatives is far from having supreme authority in the United States; and indeed it is plain that the Convention did all they could to put limitations on the popular choice of the President, foreseeing the dangers of which notable instances were afforded in 1800 and 1876, when the country was brought to the verge of a civil war. In fact, it would be difficult to say where, according to the Constitution, the supreme power of the Government resides, so nicely are the various authorities balanced against each other.

The sections providing that both Senators and Representatives shall be residents of the States for which they are chosen, that they shall be paid for their services, and that the Ministers shall not be members of Congress, give further proof of the care which was taken by the Convention not only to adapt their scheme to the special circumstances of a young community, but also to avoid the evils which would manifestly have followed upon a too close imitation of the British Parliamentary model.

It will be observed that there is a general legislative equality between the two Houses, though the initiation of money Bills rests with the House of Representatives. The Constitution gives to Congress in its collective capacity the power of dealing with questions of federal justice, peace and war, immigration and naturalization, finance, money, commerce, and loans. The silence of the Constitution in regard to the creation of legal tenders implies that the Convention deliberately declined to perpetuate the power assumed by the Confederation of issuing bills of credit and declaring them to be a legal tender. It was not without reason that the Legal Tender Act of 1862 was denounced as violating the spirit of the Constitution.

It is unquestionable that the various precautions taken by the framers of the Constitution have been of the utmost value in protecting the institutions of the country, and in giving stability to the political Union. But indeed circumstances have, as it were, conspired to produce consolidation instead of disintegration in the great federal Republic of North America. A more searching test of the strength of existing forms and methods of government may be applied hereafter, if the vast redundancy of natural products should cease, or if (which is more likely) a considerable number of the States should be subjected to the conditions of overpopulation and industrial depression which afflict some of the older States in Europe.

Certain weak points in the Constitution of the Union remain to be indicated. An American writer, Mr. M. D. Conway, makes the following comments on the not very serious departures from the original scheme which the century has brought about. "Impeachment is now a rusted blunderbuss. The plan of presidential electors,

hailed as a means of securing independence, both of legislative cabal and the *popularis aura*, has proved the cumbersome fifth wheel to a coach. Despite the virtuous First Amendment, chaplains have their traditional 'cakes and ale' in the capitol. Notwithstanding the constitutional testimony against titles of nobility, 'His Excellency' of the White House demands audience of 'Her Majesty' on her jubilee, and is the more powerful person of the two. Mason, Randolph, and Franklin, having vainly sought to distribute executive power so that no man should glory in the face of the Republic, tried hard to surround the President with an executive council. The individual President is still able to glory, even all the more that he is surrounded by a Cabinet—unknown to the Constitution—among whom he may distribute responsibility for his blunders. Some unwritten articles of our Constitution fulfil the hopes of the purest republicans of the Convention. The third-term heresy has been discredited; the right of the American people to their Union has been affirmed; the right of the Republic to protect the New World from encroachments of foreign despotism has become a doctrine."

The Caucus. The Constitutional mode of Presidential election has perhaps not effected all that was hoped for by its most sanguine advocates, but it would be dangerous to discard it lightly for any more popular method. The abuses to which it is liable have found entrance for the most part in connection with the mechanical party organizations, which have aimed at controlling the entire political life of the nation. It is necessary to understand something of the caucus as it has been perfected in the United States, where it has been more completely systematized than in any other country. The organization is practically the same

for both parties, and though the tendency of public opinion and of the press is to discourage the action of the "Machine" its influence is still one of the most notable features of public life in the Union.

In each county of every State there is a General or County Committee, consisting of delegates from each town, city ward association, and Assembly district, in the county. The Committee as soon as elected holds a "primary," at which it appoints its executive, and other primaries for the nomination of party candidates for public offices. Every member of the Committee is required to sign a declaration of his political creed, and a formal pledge to vote his party ticket at the next State elections. The delegates of the Assembly districts further elect delegates to constitute a State Convention, the object of which body is to nominate the party candidates for the chief public offices throughout the State, including the local aldermen, &c., as well as the State Senators and Representatives. The State Convention appoints its executive Committee, and it would appear that in most States organized for party purposes the State Committees are more powerful to determine public policy than its own members of Congress.

The caucus is exceedingly active in preparation for the Presidential vote, which it entirely controls. It claims to effect in this way one of the main objects which the Convention of 1787 had in view, when it took measures to place the election of the supreme officer of the Union above the reach of mere popular caprice.

Composition of Congress. The composition of the United States Congress, and its political complexion at the last Presidential Election, will be manifest from the following table, In all respects except the ratio of their

numbers to the population of the States, the standing of Senators and Representatives is identical:—

State.	Senators.	Repres.	Salary of each.	Presidential Election, 1884.		Repres. in 1880.
				Democ.	Repub.	
Alabama	2	8	£1000 a Year	10		8
Arkansas	2	5	"	7		4
California	2	6	"		8	4
Colorado	2	1	"		3	1
Connecticut	2	4	"	6		4
Delaware	2	1	"	3		1
Florida	2	2	"	4		2
Georgia	2	10	"	12		9
Illinois	2	20	"		22	19
Indiana	2	13	"	15		13
Iowa	2	11	"		13	9
Kansas	2	7	"		9	3
Kentucky	2	11	"	13		10
Louisiana	2	6	"	8		6
Maine	2	4	"		6	5
Maryland	2	6	"	8		6
Massachusetts ..	2	12	"		14	11
Michigan	2	11	"		13	9
Minnesota	2	5	"		7	3
Mississippi	2	7	"	9		6
Missouri	2	14	"	16		13
Nebraska	2	3	"		5	1
Nevada	2	1	"		3	1
New Hampshire ..	2	2	"		4	3
New Jersey	2	7	"	9		7
New York	2	34	"	36		33
N. Carolina	2	9	"	11		8
Ohio	2	21	"		23	20
Oregon	2	1	"		3	1
Pennsylvania ..	2	28	"		30	27
Rhode Island ..	2	2	"		4	2
S. Carolina	2	7	"	9		5
Tennessee	2	10	"	12		10
Texas	2	11	"	13		6
Vermont	2	2	"		4	3
Virginia	2	10	"	12		9
West Virginia ..	2	4	"	6		3
Wisconsin	2	9	"		11	8
Total	78	325		219	182	293

Each of the eight Territories sends a delegate to the House of Representatives, raising the present total to 393. A

comparison of the second and last columns shows the difference (increase or decrease) in the number of Representatives made in accordance with the census of 1880. At the time when this redistribution took place the ratio of members to population was one for every 154,000 inhabitants. If we take the present estimate of 65,000,000 as the total population, and include the delegates from the Territories, the ratio would now be about one in 195,000. The rule is that Congress shall fix the number of its members, and that after each census the representation of the States shall be modified, if necessary, in the ratio of their population, each State to have at least one member. At the present time the States of Colorado, Delaware, Nevada, and Oregon have only one member of the House, but they have the same number of Senators as the State of New York, which has thirty-four Representatives.

Party distinctions have comparatively little influence on Congress, or upon the supreme government of the Union. As the Senate is renewed by thirds in each alternate year, whilst representatives are elected for two years, and the President for four, it is possible, and it frequently happens, that one House is Republican whilst the others is Democratic; or, if their majorities agree, the President may conceivably have been the nominee of the minority. The effect of these electoral fluctuations is that the Government is less swayed by the change of popular opinion than are the Ministries of Great Britain, France, and even Germany.

The routine of legislation in Congress resembles that in the British Parliament so far as regards the order of readings, committee and report stages, revision in the second House, second reference to the initiating House in case of

amendment of Bills by the other, and conference between the two Houses (or its equivalent) in case of disagreement.* There are important differences in detail, of which the most significant is caused by the division of both Houses of Congress into Standing Committees, corresponding in some way to the French *bureaux*, in place of the Committees of the whole House, or the Grand Committees, in the British system. The main work of Congress is performed by Standing and Select Committees, the members of which, as well as their chairman, are nominated in the House of Representatives by the President, in the Senate by ballot. Their numbers vary from three to sixteen; and the most influential are those on Appropriations and (in the House of Representatives) Ways and Means.

The Senate has forty-seven Committees, as follows:—*Standing*—Agriculture and Forestry, Appropriations, Contingent Expenses, Civil Service and Retrenchment, Claims, Coast Defences, Commerce, District of Columbia, Education and Labour, Engrossed Bills, Enrolled Bills, Epidemic Diseases, Examination of the Civil Service, Expenditure of Public Money, Finance, Fisheries, Foreign Relations, Improvement of the Mississippi, Indian Affairs, Judiciary, Library, Manufactures, Military Affairs, Mines and Mining, Naval Affairs, Patents, Pensions, Post Offices and Post Roads, Printing, Private Land Claims, Privileges and Elections, Public Buildings and Grounds, Public Land, Railroads, Revision of the Laws, Revolutionary Claims, Rules, Territories, Transportation Routes to the Seaboard. *Select*—Potomac River Front, Census, Nicaragua Claims, Woman Suffrage, Library Accommodations, Ordnance

* For a full account of the process, see Mr. E. Robertson's "American Home Rule," ch. ii.

and War ships, Transportation by Railroad, Reduction of Employés, and Civil Service.

The House of Representatives has fifty-four Committees:—*Standing*—Elections, Ways and Means, Appropriations, Judiciary, Banking and Currency, Coinage, Weights and Measures, Commerce, Rivers and Harbours, Agriculture, Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Post Offices and Roads, Public Lands, Indian Affairs, Territories, Railways and Canals, Manufactures, Mines and Mining; Public Buildings and Grounds, Pacific Railroads, Mississippi, Education, Labour, Militia, Patents, Invalid Pensions, Pensions, Claims, War Claims, Private Land Claims, District of Columbia, Revision of the Laws, Expenditures in the State Department, Expenditures in the Treasury Department, Expenditures in the War Department, Expenditures in the Naval Department, Expenditures in the Post Office Department, Expenditures in the Interior Department, Expenditures in the Department of Justice, Expenditures on Public Buildings, Accounts, Rules, Mileage, Printing, Enrolled Bills, Library, Signal Service, &c. *Select*—Reform in the Civil Service, American Shipbuilding Interests, Election of President and Vice-President, Ventilation and Acoustics, Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, Ordnance and Gunnery, Expenditure for Indians.

These 101 Committees—which are not compelled to sit with open doors—receive the thirteen or fourteen thousand Bills introduced in each session of Congress, and it rests with them whether any particular Bill comes again under the notice of either House. They, not either House as a whole, decide whether a measure is to have a chance of passing, and in what form, and after what amount of discussion. Thus the ordinary discussions of Congress are less critical

than they would be if Bills were considered in Committee of the whole House, but at the end of session, when the measures begin to return in large numbers, it is necessary to put restrictions upon debate—not on account of the loquacity of members so much as because the time of Congress is not economised during the earlier months of the session. This is effected by the application of the closure, for which a two-thirds majority is required—the same vote sufficing to suspend the rules and carry the Bills under discussion.

The Senate is not merely a second legislative Chamber. It has under the Constitution important advisory and restrictive powers, and assists the President in his executive functions. Its Standing Committee of nine on Foreign Relations may become, on occasion, the most influential body in the Union; but as a rule the President's initiative gives him virtually a free hand. On the whole, the Senate appears at this moment to exert greater power and influence than the House of Representatives—a fact which is viewed with some alarm by those who think that the weight of authority ought to be in the other scale. But no doubt the knowledge that, whilst the grandeur of the nation continually expands, the voice of the least populous State is as potent in its Senate as the voice of the oldest and most opulent, must produce a very considerable effect in tightening the federal bond.

The President's Cabinet includes a Secretary of State, specially charged with foreign affairs, a Secretary of the Treasury, a Secretary of War, a Secretary of the Navy, a Secretary of the Interior, a Postmaster-General, and an Attorney-General. Under each of these officials there is a staff for the most part

permanent, though some of the offices depend on the appointment of the chief.

The establishment of the Department of the Interior is very large, comprising a Land Office, a Pension Office, a Commission of Indian Affairs, a Patent Office, with over thirty principal examiners, an Office of Education, and Commissioners of Labour, Railroads, and Public Hospitals. The Department of Agriculture, the National Museum, the Fish Commission, the Commission for the District of Columbia, and the Smithsonian Institution, are all branches of the Department of Justice, under the charge of the Attorney-General.

The thirteen States which formed the Union and drew up the Constitution jealously preserved their independent forms of government, but they have in most respects conformed to the national model. All States now have their own Senate and House of Representatives, their independent Executive, their Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, their Secretary of State and Treasurer, their Supreme Court, Chief Justice, and Attorney-General, with other public officers, such as would be found as a matter of course in independent States. All have their systems of education, their taxation, their budget, and nearly all have their debts.

State
Govern-
ments.

It is competent for each State to fix its own franchise, and there are many variations in this respect. Rhode Island is the only one in which there is a property qualification. In Connecticut no man may vote who cannot read. In several there are electoral registers, on which a man must see that his name is enrolled. In some States the franchise depends upon payment of taxes; in nearly all there must be proof of residence for a longer or shorter

period. Conviction of crime, and corrupt practices at elections, usually though not always deprive a man of his vote.

Local Government is, generally speaking, on the English system, with incorporation for the larger towns, and an almost universal popular election of local authorities.

In most cases the judges of the Supreme Courts are elected by the people, for a varying term of years. In Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Mississippi, they are nominated by the Governor; in Connecticut, Georgia, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia, they are selected by the Assembly; in Florida by the Governor with consent of the Senate.

The most complete and formal system of State government is that enjoyed by New York, which developed its old Constitution in 1846, and adopted a long and carefully-devised instrument, entering into all main details of legislation and administration. Amendments have been introduced from time to time (after being submitted to popular vote); and a more thorough revision was resolved upon in November, 1886. A characteristic passage of the existing Constitution disqualifies voters guilty of bribery, or of receiving a bribe. Thus it is provided that "no person who shall receive, expect, or offer to receive, or pay, offer, or promise to pay, contribute, offer or promise to contribute to another, to be paid or used, any money or other valuable thing as a compensation or reward for the giving or withholding a vote at an election, or who shall make any promise to influence the giving or withholding any such vote, or who shall make or become directly or indirectly interested in any bet or wager depending upon the result of any election, shall vote at such election."

The following table * gives some of the chief facts in relation to the State and Territorial Legislatures.

States.	Electoral Period.	Limit of Session.	Senators.	Repres.	Term of Senators.	Term of Repres.	Salary.
Alabama	Biennial	50 days	88	100	4 yrs.	2 yrs.	\$4 a day.
Arkansas	Biennial	60 days	82	92	4	2	\$6 a day.
California	Biennial	60 days	40	80	4	2	\$8 a day.
Colorado	Biennial	90 days	28	48	4	2	\$7 a day.
Connecticut	Annual	None	24	249	2	2	\$300 a year.
Delaware	Biennial	None	9	20	4	2	\$3 a day.
Florida	Biennial	60 days	32	76	4	2	\$6 a day.
Georgia	Biennial	40 days	44	175	2	2	\$4 a day.
Illinois	Biennial	None	51	153	4	2	\$5 a day.
Indiana	Biennial	60 days	50	100	4	2	\$6 a day.
Iowa	Biennial	None	50	100	4	2	\$550 a year.
Kansas	Biennial	50 days	40	125	4	2	\$3 a day.
Kentucky	Biennial	60 days	88	100	4	2	\$5 a day.
Louisiana	Biennial	60 days	86	98	4	4	\$4 a day.
Maine	Biennial	None	81	151	2	2	\$150 a year.
Maryland	Biennial	90 days	26	91	4	2	\$5 a day.
Massachusetts	Annual	None	40	240	1	1	\$750 a year.
Michigan	Biennial	None	82	100	2	2	\$3 a day.
Minnesota	Biennial	60 days	43	107	4	2	\$5 a day.
Mississippi	Biennial	None	40	120	4	2	\$100 a year.
Missouri	Biennial	70 days	84	140	4	2	\$5 a day.
Nebraska	Biennial	40 days	88	100	2	2	\$3 a day.
Nevada	Biennial	60 days	20	40	4	2	\$7 a day.
New Hampshire	Biennial	None	24	321	2	2	\$3 a day.
New Jersey	Annual	None	21	60	3	1	\$300 a year.
New York	Annual	None	32	123	2	1	\$1,500 a year.
North Carolina	Biennial	60 days	50	120	2	2	\$4 a day.
Ohio	Biennial	None	87	110	2	2	\$600 a year.
Oregon	Biennial	40 days	80	60	4	2	\$3 a day.
Pennsylvania	Biennial	None	50	201	4	2	\$1,500 a year.
Rhode Island	Annual	None	88	72	1	1	\$1 a day.
South Carolina	Annual	None	85	124	4	2	\$5 a day.
Tennessee	Biennial	75 days	88	90	2	2	\$4 a day.
Texas	Biennial	90 days	81	106	4	2	\$6 a day.
Vermont	Biennial	None	80	240	2	2	\$3 a day.
Virginia	Biennial	90 days	40	100	4	2	\$504 a year.
West Virginia	Biennial	45 days	26	65	4	2	\$4 a day.
Wisconsin	Biennial	None	88	100	4	2	\$500 a year.
TERRITORIES.							
Arizona	Biennial	60 days	12	24	2	2	} \$4 a day.
Dakota	Biennial	60 days	24	48	2	2	
Idaho	Biennial	60 days	12	24	2	2	
Montana	Biennial	60 days	12	24	2	2	
New Mexico	Biennial	60 days	12	24	2	2	
Utah	Biennial	60 days	12	24	2	2	
Washington	Biennial	60 days	12	24	2	2	
Wyoming	Biennial	60 days	12	24	2	2	

The general character and tendency of United States law may be indicated by saying that it is the common law of England, adapted and frequently codified by the State Legislatures, and ex-

* This table is adapted from *The American Almanac* for 1887.

tended by a series of statutes arising out of the needs and circumstances of American citizens. Actual and formal codes, embodying common law principles, exist in Ohio, Georgia, Iowa, Texas, California, Dakota, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming. New York has been engaged for years in preparing an elaborate civil code. In the same State, as also in Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, the common law has been largely enacted and amplified. Arkansas, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, and Tennessee, "are generally inclined rather to add, and occasionally to alter the common law, than to express it in their statutes." New Hampshire, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, and South Carolina, are represented as being the most conservative, retaining the common law most nearly intact. Louisiana, formerly French, and New Mexico and Arizona, formerly Spanish, "present a curious mixture of the common law with law of French or Spanish origin," and there are similar indications in Iowa, Texas, and California. Some of the States, without codifying or specifically enacting the common law, formally declare it to be in force.*

In most cases it is found, as might be expected, that the legislation of the older States has been taken as a pattern by the newer. The example of New York has spread to the westward; of Alabama to the southward; of Virginia to the south-west; and of Ohio to the westward. "One main stream of legislation can be traced occasionally comprehending all the northern, eastern, and north-western States, more often divided into two main bodies, the one

* See further on this subject in *The Political Science Quarterly*, April, 1887.

following in its legislation the general model of the State of New York, the other that of the New England States . . . another important group containing the south-western States, under the general lead of Maryland and Virginia, and still a third and smaller group comprising the Gulf States. Besides these three main groups there is one State with laws wholly anomalous (Louisiana), and others (like California, Dakota, New Mexico, and Georgia) with laws peculiar to a greater or less extent.”*

It is a matter of course that the widely-removed States of the Union, diverse as many of them are in character and circumstances, offer some very remarkable contrasts in their recent legislation. It would be too long a task to examine in detail the characteristic laws of different States, but a few main features may be noted. Traces of the religious fervour, and even of the intolerance, of some of the earliest settlers on the eastern coast are visible over a wide surface. Almost all the States have laws against sabbath-breaking, and many of them accord severe treatment to gamblers, prize-fighters, users of profane language, and dealers in indecent publications. All States, as will be seen, legislate generously on behalf of public education. Temperance laws are of later introduction, at any rate in their most drastic form. The Maine liquor law, passed in 1851, has not produced the reaction which was expected from its severity, and similar prohibitions of manufacture and sale have been enacted elsewhere. Iowa, Kansas, and two other States absolutely forbid traffic of any kind whatever in intoxicating drinks. Many States attempt, like Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska, to keep it within narrow bounds by enacting high license fees—amounting in some

* Stimson, “Digest of American Statute Law.”

instances to a thousand dollars. The marriage and divorce laws of the Union are a byword by reason of their lack of congruity. "The clear and almost effected tendency of to-day is to consider that the marriage relation makes no difference whatever in the status of the two married persons, except to affect the descent of their property after death, and to make it a penal offence for the husband to refuse to support his wife. Only in California, Dakota, Georgia, and New Mexico is it declared that 'the husband is the head of the family and the wife is subject to him.' Only in Louisiana and New Mexico does she 'owe obedience to him' and is she expressly obliged to live with him, and this because the law of those States comes from French and Spanish sources. In many States a husband is no longer liable for his wife's trespasses; and in nearly all she is not bound to pay his debts. And in Oregon and Washington Territory 'all laws (except voting and holding office) which impose or recognize civil disabilities upon a wife which are not imposed or recognized as existing to the husband are repealed;' while Mississippi boldly pronounces the common law as to disabilities of married women and their property to be abrogated. While, on the other hand, the doors of escape from marriage have been multiplied, the entering into marriage has been encouraged."*

Trouble is constantly arising from the diversified legislation of adjoining States on matters of common concern, and in more than one instance Congress has been called upon to reconcile conflicting interests. The railway laws are the most conspicuous instance. The monopoly of particular lines has tyrannized over the producers in the newer agricultural States, until these have passed strict

* F. J. Stimson, "The Ethics of Democracy."

retaliatory laws—like Minnesota in 1885 ; and the result has been a deadlock which Congress alone could surmount. It may be questioned whether the national interests would not be better consulted if the central Government had a systematic power of intervention in certain exceptional cases—as, for instance, in respect of a Bill passed by the Georgia House of Representatives in 1887, making it penal to educate white and coloured children in the same school. The Homestead Exemption laws in various States may be considered rather as an incident of settlement than as legislation intended to be permanent. (See also under the head of “ Education.”)

Railway Commissions invested with greater or less powers were created by law in twenty-six States of the Union up to 1885. The States having Railroad Commissioners are as follows, with the number constituting the Commission in each : Alabama, 3 ; Arkansas, 3 ; California, 3 ; Colorado, 1 ; Connecticut, 3 ; Georgia, 3 ; Illinois, 3 ; Iowa, 3 ; Kansas, 3 ; Kentucky, 3 ; Maine, 3 ; Massachusetts, 3 ; Michigan, 1 ; Minnesota, 3 ; Mississippi, 3 ; Missouri, 3 ; Nebraska, 3 ; New Hampshire, 3 ; New York, 3 ; Ohio, 1 ; Rhode Island, 1 ; South Carolina, 3 ; Texas, 1 ; Vermont, 1 ; Virginia, 1 ; and Wisconsin, 1.

“ In some of these States the commissioners are merely examining and reporting officers ; in others the commissioners have purely advisory powers, the legislatures retaining the sole power of regulation of railways by statute ; in others the commissions are invested with power to fix rates of freight and fares. The States in which railway commissioners have power to fix rates are nine in number, viz., California, Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, and South Carolina.

The general supervision of the railways, with power to enforce existing laws by due process, and the requirement of formal reports to the legislature, constitute the functions more generally vested in the railway commissions of the States. In several States (as in Arkansas and Nebraska) three of the State officers are made railroad commissioners *ex officio*. In Tennessee alone the railway companies have successfully resisted in the U. S. Courts revision of their tariffs of charges by the railway commissioners, and the commission itself (established in 1883) has been abolished by the legislature.”*

The Supreme Court of the United States consists of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. Its organization dates from 1790, when it was first set up in accordance with the third article of the Constitution. The Court sits at Washington, opening its annual session on the second Monday in October, and continuing to sit until its business is concluded.

The Department of Justice includes the Attorney-General, with two assistant Attorneys, and the Solicitor-General—none of these, of course, being political officials in the sense of having a seat in Congress.

There are nine Circuit Courts of the United States, presided over by the nine members of the Supreme Court, and each having an additional Circuit judge. These courts take the superior business of from three to six States—the ordinary business in each State being transacted by Supreme Courts, with Chief Justices and Assistants on the model of the Central Court. The District of Columbia has a separate Supreme Court on the same model.

* *American Almanac*, 1887.

There is also the United States Court of Claims, with a distinct Chief Justice and four assistant judges.

The Courts of the State of New York—which serves as a model for several other States—are as follows: 1. The Assembly is a Court of Impeachment. 2. The Court of Appeals is composed of a chief judge and six associate judges, elected by popular vote for a term of fourteen years. 3. The Supreme Court, with jurisdiction in law and equity, is composed of fourteen judges, elected as above, and removable by a two-thirds vote of both Houses. They must reside in stated districts, after election by the voters in the same. 4. Superior Courts of New York City, Court of Common Pleas of the city and county, Superior Court of Buffalo, City Court of Brooklyn. 5. In every county there are a Circuit Court, a Court of Oyer and Terminer, a Surrogate's Court, and an ordinary County Court, with civil jurisdiction up to 1,000 dollars, criminal, and low appellate jurisdiction. 6. Justices of the Peace, popularly elected, and Courts of Special Sessions. 7. Various City Courts. 8. A Marine Court.

It appears from the Report of the Commissioner of Education to Congress, in reference to **Education** the school year 1885, that out of an estimated **and Religion.** school population of 14,962,336 there were 10,974,463 enrolled on the books, with an average attendance of 6,410,557. This is a larger proportion of pupils to total population than in any other country; but the fact is partially accounted for by the extension of the so-called school age in many of the States to 21. There are seventeen different limits of the school period in the various States, the average being over 14 years. The highest

average of attendance is in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Delaware. In the Census of 1880 the number of the population over ten years of age who could not write was 6,239,451, out of a total population of 36,761,607—about 16 per cent. The best averages were those of Iowa, 2·4 per cent., Nebraska, 2·5 per cent., and Wyoming, 2·6 per cent. In several of the southern States it was over 40 per cent.

The total public expenditure for education in the year 1885 was, for the States, £21,391,540 ; for the Territories, £685,391 ; total for the Union, £22,076,931. The largest amounts are spent by New York, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Iowa. The value and liberality of the systems in use vary considerably in different States. In Connecticut ability to read is made an electoral qualification. In Georgia and other southern States it is found all but impracticable to educate white and coloured children together. In all the States a certain area of public land has been set apart for educational purposes. The Territory of Dakota, which twenty years ago was virtually uninhabited, but which already aims at entering the Union not as one State but as two, has by this time its free elementary and normal schools, a school of mining and mineralogy, and even a university. In all States elementary education is (partially) free, and in many compulsory. Fourteen States have given the educational franchise to women, and the teaching staff in elementary schools is mainly recruited from the same sex.

The distribution of authority and responsibility in the several States corresponds very nearly with that which came into effect in England and Wales under the Education Act of 1870. "The State arranges the school system and

designates the various kinds of schools to be supported and managed by the public authorities, and sometimes prescribes more or less of the branches of knowledge to be taught, provides how districts may be created, divided, or consolidated with others, and how moneys may be raised for or by them ; prescribes their organization, officers, and their powers, and the time and manner of filling and vacating offices, and the functions of each officer ; prescribes the school age and conditions of attendance, and provides in some cases for the investment and application of the school funds derived from the general Government. The local municipalities organize school districts under the State laws, elect school officers, examine, appoint, and fix the salaries of teachers when not otherwise done ; build school-houses, procure school supplies, arrange courses of study, prescribe the rules and regulations for the government of schools, and administer the schools " (*Official statement of the Bureau of Education at Washington*). It may be said, generally, that the representative local authorities discharge the duties of the British School Boards, and that the national domain funds occupy the place of British grants in aid.

The total number of public schools does not appear to be recorded by all the State authorities.

The number of universities and colleges in receipt of incomes from endowments, as well as from fees, in the year 1885 was 365—the professors and teachers numbering 4,836, and the students 65,728. The largest number of these institutions was in Ohio, 33 ; in Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania, 27 ; in Iowa, 20 ; in Missouri and Tennessee, 18. The most ancient of these colleges is Harvard, founded by the Boston General Court in 1636.

The following list of Theological colleges will roughly indicate the distribution of religious denominations in the United States.

DENOMINATIONS.	Seminaries.	Professors.	Students.
Baptist	22	109	1,033
Roman Catholic	18	135	1,164
Evangelical Lutheran	18	69	743
Presbyterian	14	73	649
Methodist Episcopal	14	68	498
Congregational	12	77	443
Protestant Episcopal	12	69	237
Christian	5	23	155
Reformed	4	14	50
Universalist	3	21	55
Methodist Episcopal South	3	10	183
United Presbyterian	2	18	59
Methodist Protestant	2	16	23
Non-sectarian	2	12	76
Free Baptist	2	8	45
New Church	2	8	11
German Methodist Episcopal	2	5	36
African Methodist Episcopal	2	2	5
Unitarian	1	8	15
Cumberland Presbyterian	1	6	39
Reformed (Dutch)	1	6	29
Wesleyan Methodist	1	5	16
United Brethren in Christ	1	4	25
Moravian	1	4	18
Associated Reformed	1	4	5
African Methodist Zion	1	4	
German Evangelical	1	3	99
Reformed Presbyterian	1	3	22
Old School Presbyterian South	1	3	30
Evangelical Association	1	3	10
Reformed German	1	3	2
Total	152	793	5,775

Twenty-five of the colleges here enumerated belong to different descriptions of Methodists; and as a matter of fact the Methodists are the most numerous denomination

in the States. Next come, in order of computed church membership, the Baptists, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Disciples of Christ, Congregational, and Protestant Episcopalians. The actual number of sects is very large, there being complete toleration and liberty of public worship.

The ecclesiastical government of the territory of Utah is deserving of special notice, because it constitutes at the same time the basis of the civil administration—Utah being virtually a theocracy.

There are 400 Mormon Bishops in Utah, 2,423 priests, 2,947 teachers, and 6,854 deacons. Salt Lake City is divided into wards of eight or nine blocks each, and a Bishop is put in charge of each ward. Under him there are two Teachers, whose business it is to learn the employment and income of every resident of the ward and report the same to the Bishop. The Bishop collects the tenth of each man's income, and pays it over to the church authorities. The same system exists all over the Territory, which is regularly sub-divided for purposes of taxation and local government.

The national finances of the United States during the past quarter of a century take their complexion almost entirely from the great civil war. In 1860 the total net debt amounted to 59,964,402 dollars—or, reckoning £1 for 5 dollars—to £11,992,880. Three years later the amount had risen to £222,270,147. The highest point was reached in 1865, when the public debt stood at £551,286,314—representing a liability of £15·13 per head of the population. The greater part of the debt bore interest varying from 5 to 7·3 per cent.

The country at once adopted the policy of raising its

revenue beyond what was necessary to meet the interest on this vast sum—which, it will be observed, had been increased in five years by nearly five-sixths as much as the increase incurred by Great Britain during the twenty-two years of the wars with the French Republic and Empire. The customs duties were quadrupled. An “internal revenue” and a system of direct taxation were called into existence, which amounted in 1866 (the highest year) to £62,420,313. In the same year, other “miscellaneous receipts” rose from an average of £200,000 to £5,807,262. The total net revenue of 1866 was £103,989,912. By such efforts the debt was reduced in 1886 to £258,104,305, or an average of £4·84 per head; and the liability for interest has been decreased in a much larger proportion, by converting all the remaining debt into three classes—2 per cents., 4 per cents., and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents.

The revenue for 1886 was classed as follows:—Customs, £38,581,004; Internal Revenue, £23,361,187; Direct Taxation, £21,648; Public Lands, £1,126,199; Miscellaneous, £4,197,905. Total, £67,287,948. The Internal Revenue is derived from taxes on liquors, tobacco, and banks. Stamps, other than those of the Post Office, are practically abolished. The customs dues are excessively heavy on a large number of articles, so that the commercial system of the country is based on a plan which might be described more properly as prohibitory than as protective. On some hundreds of “dutiabable articles” the imposts vary up to as much as 400 per cent., the average duty being 45·55 per cent. *ad valorem*. In 1886 the total value of goods imported was £127,087,227, whilst the value of the exports of home production was £145,336,589.

The total Appropriations made by Congress for the public

expenditure of the fixed year ending with the session of 1887 amounted to £41,931,876—giving a surplus income of £25,356,067. The principal items are as follows:—Legislative, executive, and judicial functions, £4,161,956; other Civil expenses, £4,530,131; Army, £4,750,611; Navy, £3,297,911; Indian Service, £1,112,252; Pensions, £15,215,040; Consular and Diplomatic, £272,813.

Certain special questions of international policy which arose between the United States and Great Britain (so far as Canada is concerned) in the year 1887 have already been discussed (p. 203). A further conflict of opinion has occurred in reference to fisheries in Behring's Straits and the Pacific. When the United States Government bought Alaska from Russia, an effective jurisdiction over the Behring Seas was supposed to be part of the bargain. The right has not hitherto been tested, still less defined. It is held by some that the limit of authority can at no point extend beyond three miles from the coast line. This, indeed, is the contention of American fishermen on the east coast of Canada, and their Government would doubtless be glad to yield the point in the Pacific in order to establish it in the more valuable Atlantic fishing-grounds. The opposite contention—that the line should be drawn round the most prominent capes—has been maintained by eminent American authorities, and confirmed by decisions of United States Courts in the case of Chesapeake and Delaware Bays—the former twelve miles wide at the mouth and 270 miles deep. This is also the position which has been consistently maintained by the British Foreign Office from the time of Lord Bathurst

until the present day. But, as regards the waters of Behring Sea, from the 160th deg. of west longitude to the 167th deg. of east longitude, it is urged that "for the United States to claim administrative, executive, or legislative jurisdiction over them would be far more opposed to accepted principles of international law than for us to claim the same over the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The latter has always been treated by the British Government as part of the open sea."

Destitute Aliens. A question of great interest and importance arose out of the aided emigration of a number of Irish families in 1887, who were refused admission to the United States on the ground of their exceptional indigence. A correspondence took place between the two Governments, which was the more significant because, in the opinion of some persons, the action of the Republic had been dictated by the influence of Irish politicians in the United States. On April 21st the Irish Local Government Board requested the Foreign Office to ascertain whether the United States Government would allow immigrants to land who had been seen and approved by the Irish Local Government Board Inspectors. Lord Salisbury at once wrote to Sir L. West at Washington, asking him to obtain the necessary information. On May 7th Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, wrote to Sir L. West, referring him to Section 2 of the Act of Congress 82, which regulates immigration to the United States, and according to which the officers appointed to supervise such immigration are required to examine into the condition of persons arriving in United States ports. If any person should be found "unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge, the officers should report the same in

writing to the collector of such port, and such person should not be permitted to land."

Mr. Bayard considered that these provisions were binding for his Government, and that they rendered any interference with the action of the States impossible. He added that "the economic and political condition of the United States had always led the Government to favour immigration, and all persons seeking a new field of effort and coming hitherto with a view to the improvement of their condition by the free exercise of their faculties have been cordially received. But the United States Government could not fail to look with disfavour and concern upon the sending to this country by foreign Government agencies, and at the public cost, of persons not only unlikely to develop qualities of thrift and self-support, but sent here because it is assumed that they have 'friends' in this country able to 'help and support them.' The mere fact of poverty has never been regarded as an objection to an immigrant, and a large part of those who have come to our shores have been persons who relied for support solely upon the exercise of thrift and manual industry, and to such persons it may be said the development of the country has in a large degree been due. But persons whose only escape from immediately becoming and remaining a charge upon the community is the expected but entirely contingent voluntary help and support of friends, are not a desirable accession to our population, and their exportation hither by a foreign Government in order to get rid of the burden of their support could scarcely be regarded as a friendly act."

A bill is expected to be passed by Congress early in 1888 having for its object to put further legislative restrictions on immigration.

Irish Americans. It is probably true that the influence of Irish men in the United States is strong enough to be occasionally felt in the central and sectional politics of the country. There is no ground for thinking that it has had any illegitimate effect upon the national councils ; but so far as the strength of Irish-Americans at the polls is concerned, and in virtue of their party and personal influences, they have succeeded in giving expression to their sympathies of race and consanguinity, and have thus accentuated the difficulties of British government in Ireland. To this cause have been attributed the resolutions of American State Legislatures and other public bodies during the year in favour of Home Rule. It has been pointed out, as evidence that Irish opinion in the United States is not likely to be specially reckless or irresponsible, that the two millions or so of Irish-born citizens, representing perhaps twice that number of Irish residents, show a marked adaptability for orderly and industrious life in their new home. Thus it appears from the last available census reports (for 1880) that in the year just named the number of citizens of the United States who were born in Ireland was 1,854,571, as against 916,114 born in Great Britain and 1,966,742 born in Germany. But while Germany supplied 4,369 German-born persons to the staff of official and civil *employés* of the American Government, and Great Britain 3,039, Ireland was represented by 8,321 Irish-born persons in the American Civil Service. The friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States have not been affected by these circumstances ; but they serve to illustrate the far-reaching influences of race upon race and Government upon Government, which are the natural sequel of a broad and continuous stream of emigration.

The existence of a large surplus of revenue, **Treasury** which, it is estimated, will amount in June, **Surplus.** 1888, to no less than £28,000,000, has caused much perplexity to the United States Government, and has even raised the vexed question between Protection and Free Trade in a new form. The general attitude of the Democratic party in regard to this matter is as follows: They demand the application of the balance in hand towards the payment of the public debt (which, however, cannot be done without the sacrifice of a considerable premium for the pre-emption of bonds), and the arrest of the increase, not by remission of import duties, but by reduction of internal taxes. President Cleveland, himself elected as a Democrat, startled the country in his last Message to Congress by proposing a partial remission of duties. He contended that this would not imply a return to the principle of Free Trade, but only the relaxation of efforts made for a special purpose, and he held that a reduction of existing taxes would be a lesser benefit to the nation. It is doubtful whether this policy, if pressed, will secure a majority in its support. Meanwhile it seems to be clear that a system of Protection which levies on foreign goods a toll in excess of the necessities of any country lacks the justification which is pleaded in behalf of a system which is not more than adequate.

An influential deputation of British Members **Arbitra-** of Parliament and others visited Washington in **tion.** November, in order to present an address to the President and Congress in the interests of international arbitration. The address declared the satisfaction with which more than 230 Members of Parliament had heard "that various proposals have been introduced into Congress, urging the

Government of the United States to take the necessary steps for concluding with the Government of Great Britain a treaty which shall stipulate that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency shall be referred to arbitration ;" and it continued : " Should such a proposal happily emanate from the Congress of the United States, our best influence shall be used to ensure its acceptance by the Government of Great Britain." The President and the American public gave a hearty welcome to the deputation, and a general concurrence was manifested with its objects. There is no doubt that Congress would be willing to go as far in the direction of an arbitration treaty as any European Power could be induced to accompany it.

URUGUAY.

The Republic of Uruguay (capital, Montevideo) is a small State at the mouth of the Plata river, south of Brazil, and enclosed between the Uruguay river and the sea. It broke away from Brazil in 1825, and adopted a Constitution in 1830.

Area, 72,150 square miles ; population, about 600,000, of which nearly a quarter are Europeans—and of this quarter more than one-third are Italians. Nearly half of the land is said to be owned by the latter.

GOVERNMENT.

The executive power is in the hands of a President, elected every four years by a limited suffrage. He is assisted by a council of ministers, presiding over the departments of Foreign Affairs, Finance, the Interior, War and Marine, and Public Worship, Justice, and Education.

The country is divided into eighteen Departments, each of which returns one Senator, the second Chamber being renewed by thirds every two years. The franchise is educational. The House of Representatives is elected every three years, in the ratio of one to 3,000 of the population registered as being able to read and write. The number was adjusted in 1885 at forty-six.

Education is compulsory, and for the most part free. In Montevideo there are several high schools and an endowed university. The established religion is Roman Catholic, but other forms are tolerated.

The revenue for 1887 was estimated at £2,608,800, and the expenditure at £2,598,000. Total public debt, £14,718,000.

In a report from Mr. Palgrave, British Minister in Uruguay, written in the spring of 1887, the following passage occurs :—"The interest of the national debt and of other State obligations claim for themselves more than one-third of the annual expenditure. Subsequently, however, to the drawing up of the Budget just assigned, a new interior loan has been created by the emission of Government bonds to the amount of 1,300,000 dols. (equal to £276,595), necessitated, according to official declaration, by extraordinary expenses incurred during the year, and thus plunging the country deeper than ever into debt. To extricate the national treasury from so difficult a situation the greatest possible economy in whatever regards public expenditure is promised by the existing Administration; custom-house dues and direct taxation having already reached the extremest limits of endurance, while the expenditure requisite for military and naval purposes has been on the other hand cut down to the lowest possible

prudential margin, if not indeed below it. The situation is a critical one. However, it may be hoped that a sound internal administration, the revival and encouragement of departmental industry and enterprise, honesty, good fortune, and, above all, a vigorous abstention from the contracting of any further loans or national pecuniary obligations whatever, may yet avert a crisis and induce prosperity."

These remarks are applicable in a large measure to all the American Republics south of the United States, with the possible exception of the Argentine and Chili.

VENEZUELA.

The United States of Venezuela (capital, Caracas) is the most northern country of South America, bounded by Colombia, Brazil, and British Guiana, with which latter country the frontier is still in dispute. The Republic has expressed a desire to submit its claims for arbitration to the King of the Belgians. Originally part of the old Spanish colony of New Granada, Venezuela asserted her independence in 1830, and adopted a Constitution in the same year, which has been subsequently revised.

There are a large number of islands off the coast, including the British Colony of Trinidad and Tobago, opposite to the mouths of the Orinoco.

Area, 632,695 square miles ; population, over 2,000,000. These estimates include the eight federated States, the District of Caracas, eight Territories, and two settlements.

GOVERNMENT.

A Federal Council of sixteen members, two from each State, is appointed every two years by the two Chambers of

Congress sitting together, and this Council selects the President. He is chief of the executive power, but has no veto over resolutions of the Legislature. He acts through his six ministers, who are responsible to Congress.

The Senate has twenty-four members, three from each State. Senators, as in the United States, are appointed by the State Legislatures. The Representatives, fifty-two in number, are elected by popular vote in the ratio of one to 35,000 inhabitants.

The States have a large autonomous power. Their Legislatures are elected by universal suffrage; they have their own executive and their own finances. One of the principal questions now under controversy in the Republic is whether the autonomy of the States should be increased or modified.

Education is free and compulsory, and it has latterly made much progress. There are about 1,250 schools supported by the State, with higher colleges, normal and technical schools, and two universities. About £100,000 is annually spent on education by the federal Government. The established religion is Roman Catholic; but other forms are tolerated.

The federal Revenue of Venezuela is about £1,400,000, and the Expenditure approaches the same amount. Public debt, £2,680,850.



MONARCHIES.



MONARCHIES.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

THE Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (capital, Vienna) is a quasi-federal State in the south-centre of Europe. It is bounded on the west by the Republic of Switzerland and the Empire of Germany, on the north by the Empires of Germany and Russia, on the east by Russia, and on the south by the Kingdoms of Roumania and Servia, the Empire of Turkey, the Principality of Montenegro, the Adriatic Sea, and the Kingdom of Italy. The peculiar political significance of the Austrian frontier is that it artificially divides populations of the same race and language—Germans from Germans, Czechs from Czechs, Slavs from Slavs, Turks from Turks.

For several centuries Austria held (with short intermissions) the hegemony of the German States. The monarch of Austria called himself Emperor of Germany until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, under constraint from Buonaparte, Francis I. resigned the title, and soon afterwards assumed that of Emperor of Austria. The empire was ejected from the German Confederation by Prussia in 1866. The connection between Austria and Hungary was more or less close from the fifteenth century ;

but the Hungarians, whose Monarchy and Constitution were amongst the oldest in Europe, were never at rest under the Austrian yoke. The widespread revolutionary movement of 1848 found them eager to take advantage of it; they declared their independence, and were only reduced to subjection again by the introduction of a Russian army (through Galicia). During the Franco-Austrian War of 1859 Hungary once more preferred her demands, and the Emperor Francis Joseph I. endeavoured to meet the difficulty by offering a new Constitution in the "diploma" of 1860.

The situation at this crisis was not void of resemblance to the present situation of affairs between Great Britain and Ireland. The wisest men of all parties, in both countries, sought means of reconciliation and political readjustment, whilst every variety of counsel was put forward and discussed, from the extreme demand of absolute independence on one side to the extreme advocacy of repression on the other. The conciliatory attitude of the Emperor, the combined firmness and moderation of Deak, and the statesmanship of Beust, led gradually to a happy result; but the Prusso-Austrian war contributed powerfully to bring about the final solution. Autonomy was granted to Hungary in 1867, the Emperor was crowned King at Buda-Pesth, and the present Constitution was established.

The expulsion of Austria from the Germanic Bund, as well as from Venice, which removed the centre of her influence towards the south and east of her dominions, combined with the sacrifices which she had been compelled to make in Hungary, completed the consolidation of a country whose sway had once extended from the Baltic to

Spain, and from Sicily to the Netherlands. The character of the Dual Monarchy has in great measure changed with its external conditions, and its broad federal Constitution has produced a general (though moderate) satisfaction amongst its various nationalities, contrasting in a remarkable manner with the discontent prevailing under the old régime.

The following table will show the political organization of the monarchy, with its area and population:—

	Square Miles.	Population, 1885.	Members of Reichsrath	Provincial Government.
<i>Austrian Provinces (14)</i>				
Lower Austria	7,65 ⁴	2,468,898	87	Governor and Diet
Upper Austria	4,681	767,779	17	Governor and Diet
Salzburg	2,767	166,925	5	President and Diet
Styria	8,670	1,241,651	28	Governor and Diet
Carinthia	4,006	868,485	9	President and Diet
Carniola	8,866	491,562	10	President and Diet
Küstenland (Trieste, &c.) ..	3,084	666,534	12	Governor and three Diets
Tyrol and Vorarlberg	11,256	901,716	{ 18 } 8	Governor and two Diets
Bohemia	20,060	5,697,883	92	Governor and Diet
Moravia	8,583	2,187,475	36	Governor and Diet
Silesia	1,987	581,977	10	President and Diet
Galicia	80,807	6,219,680	68	Governor and Diet
Bukovina	4,085	610,385	9	President and Diet
Dalmatia	4,940	503,695	9	Governor and Diet
<i>Principality, Liechtenstein</i> ..	68	9,260	—	Prince; exempt from taxes
			853	
<i>Hungarian.</i>				
Hungary and Transylvania	108,258	14,400,000	Diet. 413	Gov'nor (under Min. of Interior) Ban and Diet
Fiume	8	22,000	—	
Croatia and Slavonia	16,778	2,000,000	40	
			453	
<i>In Austrian Occupation.</i>				
Romania	16,200	187,574	}	Military from 1878 to 1880; since, nominally Civil.
Herzegovina	8,540	1,148,517		
Novibazar	8,522	175,000		
		264,304	40,810,916	

. These various Provinces represent almost as many distinct nationalities, whereof the members talk languages mutually unintelligible. In the census of 1880 there were in Austria over 8,000,000 Germans, 6,000,000 Magyars, nearly

7,000,000 Czechs and Slovaks, more than 2,500,000 Roumanians, 3,000,000 Poles (chiefly in Galicia), 3,000,000 Ruthenians, nearly 3,000,000 Serbs and Croatians, over 1,000,000 Slovenes, 1,500,000 Turks, and large contingents speaking other tongues. It is this characteristic which gives its most special interest to the success of the federal government of Austria-Hungary, and emphasizes the value, as well as the necessity, of the Constitutional settlement in 1867 and the following years.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitutional "diploma" of 1860 was the production of a body very imperfectly representative of the Austrian States, originally elected nine years before. The scheme was based on a Reichsrath of two Houses, one of them chosen by the Provincial legislatures, which was to transact the financial, military, and foreign affairs of the whole empire—leaving provincial affairs to the legislatures aforesaid; but whenever the common concerns of the non-Hungarian Provinces came under discussion the Hungarian members were to withdraw, and the remainder were to constitute a Lesser Reichsrath.* The Provincial constitutions, suspended in 1849, were restored, including the old Constitution of Hungary (before its revision by Kossuth and his colleagues in 1848). The Upper House was to consist of imperial archdukes, nobles nominated by the Emperor, and prelates; and the right of initiating and debating measures of legislation was conferred for the first time.

This Constitution was not generally satisfactory, and in

* Compare the suggested plan of full Irish representation at Westminster for imperial affairs, and the exclusion of the Irish members when English, Scotch, and Welsh business was introduced.

1861 it was modified in some important particulars. An imperial "patent" reserved the right of indicating particular towns, districts, and corporations in each Province which might elect the deputies of the lower House in place of the Provincial legislatures; and it was at the same time declared that the legislatures should henceforth be entitled to initiate and publicly discuss their measures. It has been rightly said that constitutional government in Austria began with the issue of this edict.

Hungary still remained the Ireland of Austria. It was not satisfied. Public order was not restored; the model of 1848 was demanded more resolutely than ever, as well as the reunion of the four provinces of Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Transylvania, severed from Hungary in 1849. The first two were restored at the end of 1860; but the main question was left open, and there were many who urged a return to the absolutism which had already failed. Hungary refused to send members to the Reichsrath in Vienna. Then the Austrian Government suspended the parliamentary and municipal institutions of Hungary; the Province was forced back into a condition of veiled rebellion; and a prolonged deadlock in the Reichsrath, where the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia presently took the same course as the Hungarians, proved the impossibility of ignoring the contumacy of an integral member of the body politic. In 1865 the meetings of the Reichsrath were suspended, on the ground that "it was impossible to debate constitutionally in one part of the empire the same measure which was enacted by the Emperor's fiat in another."

So much of history is necessary to a right understanding of the circumstances out of which the existing Constitution

of Austria-Hungary arose. Deak was moderately but firmly negotiating with the imperial Government when the war with Prussia broke out in 1866. As the disunion of Austria caused her defeat to be crushing and ignominious, so it became evident to her statesmen—and particularly to Count Beust, lately President of the Council of Saxony, who had been made chief of the Austrian Ministry—that the collapse of the empire could only be prevented by its political reunion. The demands of Hungary were granted; the Constitution of 1860-1 was restored, and the Emperor announced that all local autonomies were admissible which did not endanger the imperial integrity.

“Austria at the close of 1867 was already one of the freest constitutional monarchies on the Continent. On the 21st of December the Emperor, at the instance of the Reichsrath, ordered that all laws (including the alteration of the Constitution of February, 1861, necessary to carry out the dualism) which were the titles of the constitutional rights and privileges of the people and their representatives, should be forthwith promulgated and come into operation. Liberal regulations on the right of public meeting and association had previously been published on the 20th of November. And now were added the equality of all subjects before the law; the admission to public offices of any capable subject; the free enjoyment of property; domestic and personal liberty; the liberty of the press; the inviolability of letters in the post-office; liberty of creeds, conscience, and science; the separation of judicial from administrative functions; the independence of the judge; the oath to the Constitution required from all officials, and their responsibility for all unconstitutional measures; the right of the representatives of the people

on all matters of taxation and military conscription; the creation of an imperial parliamentary tribunal; and lastly, the enumeration in the delegation law of all the public and common concerns of the different provinces, and the method of their treatment." *

It will appear from what has been said that the existing Constitution of the Empire of Austria is that of 1860-1, largely extended in 1867. A further revision took place in 1882.

There are twenty-one Legislative and Executive representative parliaments, some with powers merely delegated, others in their origin virtually sovereign; many resting on distinct Constitutions, and transacting their affairs in distinct languages.

The subordination is shown below :—

THE DELEGATIONS.

[Transacting the Foreign, Financial, and Military Affairs of the whole Empire; 120 members delegated equally by the]

AUSTRIAN REICHSRATH.
[Imperial; partly nominated, partly elected by all portions of the Empire, *excluding Hungary*, with authority in *specified* matters superior to that of the]

HUNGARIAN REICHSRATH.
[Royal; partly nominated, mainly elected by inhabitants of Hungary proper and Transylvania, partly composed of Delegates from the]

XVII DIETS (LANDTAGS).

DIET
of Croatia-Slavonia.

Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Goritz, Istria, Trieste, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, Bukovina, Dalmatia.

* The quotation is from an ably written article in the *North British Review*, October, 1869.

THE UNITED MONARCHY.

The supreme Government of the Monarchy (*Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie*) is wielded by the Emperor-King, the Delegations, and an Executive Ministry of three, responsible to the Delegations.

The monarch has a civil list of 9,300,000 florins—about £775,000, half of which is provided by Austria, and the other half by Hungary. The children, brothers, and cousins of the Emperor, with about twenty collateral descendants of Maria Theresa and Duke Francis of Tuscany, are styled Archdukes and Archduchesses. The Archdukes sit by right in the Upper Houses of the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments.

The Delegations (originally suggested by Deak) are two bodies of sixty members each, selected each year by the Reichsrath of Austria and the Reichstag of Hungary—twenty from the upper (*Herrenhaus*) and forty from the lower (*Abgeordneten-*) House—and meeting each year as the Emperor may appoint. Their authority extends over Foreign Affairs (including the “Imperial House”) Finances, and War. The two bodies sit in separate chambers, and discuss separately all questions brought forward by either. If their decisions do not coincide, the whole of the members sit together, and an absolute majority of votes, without further debate, is conclusive; but if more members are present from one Delegation than from the other, the numbers must be equalized by drawing lots to exclude the delegates in excess. There is no authority in the empire superior to a vote of the combined Delegations.

The forty members of the Austrian Delegation elected by the lower House are chosen (after each general election) in the following manner. The deputies from each *Landtag*

select, from amongst themselves or their colleagues in the Reichsrath, the number of delegates indicated below:—Bohemia, 10; Dalmatia, 1; Galicia (and Lodomeria, with the grand-duchy of Cracovia), 7; Lower Austria, 3; Upper Austria, 2; Salzburg, 1; Styria, 2; Carinthia, 1; Carniola, 1; Bukovina, 1; Moravia, 4; Silesia (Upper and Lower), 1; Tyrol, 2; Vorarlberg, 1; Istria, 1; Goritz (and Gradska), 1; Trieste (town and territory), 1.

The Fundamental Law passed by the Reichsrath in 1867 lays down certain principles to regulate the powers of the Delegations.*

“The following matters are declared common to the kingdoms and countries represented in the Reichsrath and to the countries under the Crown of Hungary:—(a) Foreign affairs, including diplomatic and commercial representation abroad, with measures relating to international treaties, reserving the right of the representative bodies of each part of the empire (the Austrian Reichsrath and the Hungarian Reichstag) to approve the said treaties, in so far as this approval is required by the Constitution; (b) Military affairs, including marine of war, but excluding the vote for the contingent, and legislation on military service, the dispositions to be made for the local distribution and support of the army, and the regulation of the civil condition of members of the army, and of their rights in matters not affecting military service; (c) Finances, so far as concerns the expenditure requiring a joint provision, and especially the framing of the budget for this class of expenditure, and the examination of accounts relating thereto.

“The matters which follow must be treated not in

* The Hungarian Parliament at the same time passed a law containing similar provisions.

common, but upon identical principles to be established from time to time by a common understanding :—(i) Commercial affairs, especially in relation to Customs ; (ii) Legislation on indirect taxes having a close connection with industrial products ; (iii) The regulation of the monetary system and money standards ; (iv) Arrangements for railways affecting both parts of the empire ; (v) The establishment of the defensive system of the country.

After other clauses relating to the division of financial burdens, and the general regulation of proceedings, it is declared that “the right of prosecuting the common responsible Ministry will be exercised by the Delegations. On the violation of a law concerning common interests actually in operation, either Delegation may make a proposal to accuse the common Ministry, or one of its members ; which proposal must be communicated to the other Delegation. The charge lies in a regular manner when it has been separately resolved upon by each Delegation, or by the plenary assembly of the combined Delegations. Each Delegation proposes, from amongst independent citizens who are versed in the knowledge of the law of the country which it represents—but not amongst its own number—twenty-four judges, of whom twelve may be challenged by the other Delegation. The accused Minister, or all the accused when there are more than one, likewise have the right to challenge twelve of the proposed judges, provided that their challenge applies in equal number to the judges proposed by each Delegation. The judges who remain form the Court of Justice for the trial in question”—the proceedings of the trial to be regulated by a special law. (Compare *Sweden-Norway*.)

The following provision, to ensure agreement on matters

which must be determined "upon identical principles," is also interesting. Agreement is to be arrived at in one of two ways: "either the responsible Ministers prepare by mutual accord a measure which is submitted to the representative bodies of the two parties, to be converted into resolutions, and then the harmonious resolutions are presented to the Emperor for his sanction; or else the two representative bodies elect a deputation composed of an equal number of members taken from the respective bodies; this deputation, on the initiative of the Minister competent thereto, prepares a measure which is submitted by the Ministers to each representative body, and discussed in due form, and the two harmonious resolutions are presented to the Emperor for his sanction."

The Turkish Provinces in Austrian occupation—Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Novibazar—are administered in accordance with a law passed by the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments in 1880, after having been for two years under technical military government. The following is the Austrian text of this law:—

"In conformity with the laws concerning the common affairs of the whole monarchy, the Minister is authorized and called upon to exercise his influence, under his constitutional responsibility, over the provisional administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which will be directed by the Common Ministry. The determination of the general spirit and principles of this provisional administration, and likewise in particular the establishment of railways, will be regulated by agreement with the Governments of the two portions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be organized in such a manner that its expenditure shall be covered by its

own revenue." But the excess of expenditure, if any, is to fall on Austria and Hungary in the proportion stipulated by law. "In like manner are to be established the principles on which the following affairs are to be regulated and administered in Bosnia and Herzegovina: (i) Tariffs; (ii) Such indirect taxes as, in the two parts of the monarchy, are subject to analogous laws agreed on by common accord; (iii) Monetary affairs. No modification can be introduced into the relations existing between Bosnia and Herzegovina on the one part and the monarchy on the other part, without the identical authorization of the legislative bodies of the two parts of the monarchy."

AUSTRIA.

The Austrian (Cisleithan) Reichsrath, or Council of the Realm, consists of two Houses. The Herrenhaus (House of Nobles) contains 188 members in four categories: (1) All imperial archdukes residing on their property in Cisleithan Austria are entitled to sit in this House. (2) So are fifty-three hereditary nobles of the highest grades. (3) The ten archbishops, and the incumbents of seven prelate sees, are regularly summoned. (4) The largest class of all is composed of life-members (over one hundred) nominated by the Emperor on the ground of their distinction in science or art, or of their public services. Thus the Upper House in Austria is one of the few second Chambers in which there is no election of any kind; it is therefore not renewable, and in very slight measure responsible. Its President and Vice-President are nominated by the Emperor.

The lower House is elected every six years, and consists of 358 members, representing four classes of the people.

(1) Eighty-five are chosen by landowners (men or women) paying from fifty to two hundred and fifty florins in annual taxation; (2) twenty-one are deputed by as many Chambers of Commerce; (3) one hundred and sixteen are elected in the towns, by all male subjects paying twenty-five florins in annual taxation, these numbering nearly one in fourteen of the population; (4) one hundred and thirty-one are chosen by the residue of male taxpayers in rural districts, excluding voters in class 1. Electors are nominated in the ratio of 1 to every 500 of the population, and these electors choose the representative of their district. The Abgeordneten-haus appoints its own officers.

The Reichsrath meets annually. The Emperor may dissolve it, but in that case a new general election must take place within six months. The business of the Reichsrath is specified by the Constitution as follows:—Its consent is required to military laws whose initiation is with the Government; either House may initiate laws on trade and commerce, customs, banking, posts, telegraphs, and railways; both Houses are competent to criticise and control public expenditure, taxation, and general finance. In order to render this control effective, the Reichsrath insisted on the responsibility of Ministers for their public actions.

There are seven Executive Departments, presided over by as many Ministers, that is to say, the Ministries of the Interior, Public Instruction and Worship, Finance, Agriculture, Commerce and National Economy, National Defence, and Justice.* There is also at the present time a Minister without portfolio.

* For the subdivision of these Departments, see the *Almanach de Gotha*.

Thus we find in Austria a superior Cabinet of three, controlling the whole empire, and removable singly, under very exceptional circumstances, by the Delegations—whereof the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Imperial House (sometimes called the Chancellor) is President; and a secondary or complementary Cabinet of eight, removable at each dissolution of the Reichsrath. The Emperor also has his Privy Council, appointed and removable by himself.

THE AUSTRIAN DIETS.

The seventeen Cisleithan Provincial Diets vary in the number of their members according to population, though not always in a fixed ratio. The Diets are renewed every six years, and they consist in each case of one House, the members of which are partly elective and partly prescriptive. The archbishops and bishops of the Roman and Greek churches, and the rectors of universities, are entitled to seats; whilst the landowners, Chambers of Commerce, and rural districts are represented on the same double electoral system as in the Reichsrath. Their authority extends over the whole field of local administration and legislation, with the exception of matters already mentioned as being specifically reserved. Thus a Provincial Diet (Landtag) can deal with education and religion, with local taxes and public works, with industry and commerce affecting the particular Province—but not with posts, railways, banks, or questions of trade and customs partly affecting the inhabitants of other Provinces. The President and Vice-President, with the Governor or President of the Province, are nominated by the Emperor.

As an example of the Constitution and practical working of these Diets, a few details may be added in reference to

the largest and most prominent amongst them. The Bohemian Diet includes 242 members, of whom the great majority are Czechs, whilst 70 are Germans. The capital city, Prague, is represented by 10 members; 62 other towns send one each, and the rural parishes or communes contribute 79. Sixteen Chambers of Commerce are represented by the same number of deputies; the large land-owners (or, more strictly speaking, their estates) furnish a representation of 70; and the balance is accounted for by the Archbishop, three bishops, and the Rector of the University of Prague. The 242 members of the Diet are nominated by a committee of electors previously chosen for the purpose by the voters of the Province, on a narrow property franchise, the "committee" rarely exceeding 150. It is evident that there is no popular representation, worthy of the name, in the Bohemian Diet, and it is not surprising to find that the political difficulties of the Province, which would be serious in any case, are rather aggravated than allayed by the indirect reaction between popular sentiment and the members of the Legislature.

Unfortunately, the jealousies existing between the Czechs and the Germans are very strong. At the end of 1886 the German minority withdrew from the Diet, and in the elections of 1887 the efforts of the Czechs to replace them were not successful. The majority undoubtedly appear to have used their strength without moderation and without judgment. In particular they insist on the sole use of the Czech language, not merely in the Diet and in the public service, but in many other cases where the exclusion of German is clearly tyrannical. The cause of the German secession in 1886 was the refusal of the Czechs to take into consideration the demands which had been put for-

ward, to the effect that the vexatious regulations as to language should be abolished; that a distinction should be drawn between the Czech and the German portions of the Province; that the High Court of Justice and the Councils of Education and Public Worship should be divided into two; and finally, that German should be spoken in the Diet instead of Czech. (A like difficulty is met in the Cape Parliament by allowing the use of Dutch as an alternative to English—a supposed solution which does not appear to have commended itself to any large party in Bohemia). The question is fought with much bitterness, and it must ultimately come before the Austrian Reichsrath, probably in conjunction with the demand of the Czechs for a measure of autonomy equal to that enjoyed by Hungary. This demand is natural enough, however exorbitant and ill-founded. Bohemia has none of the excellent arguments which Hungary was able to urge; but both Czechs and Germans have claims which the Reichsrath must attempt to reconcile, and which are all the harder to reconcile because of the links of sympathy between these two nationalities and their brothers in race across the Russian and German frontiers.

Bohemia, the Tyrol, and to a less extent, Galicia, are the chief centres of feudal and clerical influence in Austria; yet, paradoxical as it may seem, they are all animated by a strong centrifugal feeling of nationality.

The written Constitutions of the Austrian Provinces, which were conceded (in almost identical form) in 1861, recite no general principles, but confine themselves to the organization of the Diets, and of the small committees which constitute the administrative councils of the Presidents. The measure of local self-government secured by

these Constitutions is indicated by the fact that every decision of the Committee is subject to suspension by the Governor, and every resolution of the Diet, even on purely local matters, must be remitted for the sanction of the Crown.

HUNGARY.

The Hungarian (Transleithan) Reichstag, or Assembly of the Realm, which was remodelled in 1885, has two Chambers, the House of Magnates and the House of Representatives.

The House of Magnates includes 20 archdukes resident in Hungary, 286 hereditary nobles who pay not less than 3,000 florins as an annual land tax, and have reached the age of twenty-four, 39 dignitaries of the Roman and Greek Churches, and 11 representatives of other denominations; 50 life peers; 1 delegate from the Croatian Diet; and 16 official members—making 423 in all. The creation of life peers, who have the same qualifications as those in the Austrian Herrenhaus, is henceforth in the hands of the King. The President and Vice-President are nominated by the monarch from amongst the members.

The House of Representatives has 453 members, of whom 40 are delegates from the Diet of Croatia and Slavonia. The remainder are returned by direct election every five years, from town and rural constituencies. The franchise is enjoyed by male citizens twenty years of age, paying a property, house, or income tax. The number thus enfranchised is in a smaller ratio to the population than is the case in Austria. The House appoints its President and Vice-President.

The Reichstag meets annually in Pesth, and combines the authority, for Hungary and Transylvania, which in

Austria is divided between the Reichsrath and the Provincial Diets.

Hungary has preserved more of her ancient Constitution than any of the States which have in the present century recast and codified their popular guarantees. About the time when Britain obtained the Great Charter, the nobles of Hungary exacted from their king (1222) the Golden Bull (*Aranybull*) of 31 articles, which may possibly have been framed by some one who had seen, or had information of, the text signed by King John at Runnymede.

But there was one clause in particular of this Golden Bull (the last) which has no counterpart in *Magna Charta*. It runs as follows:—"In order that this concession and ordinance may last for ever, in our lifetime and in the time of our successors, we have caused it to be made in seven copies, and impressed with our golden seal; so that one shall be sent to our lord the Pope, that he may have it inserted in his record; the second to the Hospitallers, the third to the Templars, the fourth to the King, the fifth to the chapter of Esztergom (*Gran*), the sixth to that of *Kalocsa*; the seventh shall be preserved by the Palatine for the time in office, in order that having the very text before his eyes he may not depart from any of the orders therein contained, nor permit the King, the nobles or others to depart therefrom; that these may have the enjoyment of their liberty, and may thereby remain faithful to us and to our successors, and not refuse due obedience to the Crown. But if we, or any of our successors, do ever withdraw from the present ordinance, the bishops and others, barons and nobles of our realm, together or separately, present or future, shall at all times, by virtue of this ordinance, and without charge of faithlessness, have free right to resist and

oppose us, and our successors." This charter of constitutional rebellion was abrogated in 1721, and specially excepted in the oath taken by the Emperor in 1867 to observe the ancient Constitution of Hungary.

For some centuries the Hungarian charters were drawn up, as was natural, in the interests of the nobles. The composition of the Chamber of Magnates was practically determined in 1608, but the rights of both Chambers of the Diet have existed, with few exceptions, from a much earlier period down to the present day.

There is a Ministry of nine members, responsible to the Reichstag. One of these (at present Minister of the Interior) holds the Presidency of the Council. Another is Minister for Croatia and Slavonia. A third is Minister *Adlatus* (attached to the King's person when in Hungary). The other six are the Ministers of Finance, National Defence, Education and Worship, Justice, Communications and Public Works, and Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.

It is not to be wondered at that, in trying to make the most of her bargain with Austria, Hungary should now and then have pushed her demands to an extreme, and so roused the jealousy of other portions of the empire. It was with much difficulty on this account that the settlement of 1867 was concluded, and questions still arise from time to time which severely test the strength of the federal bond. The last serious demand of Hungary has been for a distinct army of her own. The concession of that point would be a grave departure from the terms of the compact, and would have to be followed by the creation of a new model of government by annual Delegations.

CROATIA.

The Diet of Croatia and Slavonia (comprising 67 members) has a provincial authority similar to that of the Cisleithan Diets.* One of the first acts of Hungary after the completion of her compromise with Austria was to conclude one on her own account with Croatia, the result being cast in the shape of an Act by the Diets of both countries in 1868. Some of the characteristic clauses are added below.

“Whereas for ages the land of Croatia and Slavonia has belonged in right and fact to the Crown of St. Stephen, and whereas it is also declared in the Pragmatic Sanction † that the lands of Hungary are inseparable, Hungary on the one part and Croatia and Slavonia on the other have therefore concluded, for the determination of questions of public right arising between them, the following agreement:—Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia ‡ form one and the same political union, as well in respect of other countries under the authority of His Majesty as in regard to all other countries whatsoever. . . . It results from the indissoluble political union above mentioned that for all affairs common to all the countries under the Hungarian Crown, and to the other States of His Majesty, and for affairs which must be decided by a common understanding,

* Though the analogy is not strikingly close, yet in form the position of Croatia and Slavonia resembles that which would be occupied by Ulster if, on the grant of Home Rule to Ireland, she should demand the separate autonomous treatment of her own local interests, whilst at the same time sending her representatives to the Dublin Parliament, and being represented by a Minister for Ulster in the Dublin Cabinet.

† 1723 (so far as concerns Hungary).

‡ Dalmatia, however, remains a Cisleithan Province.

Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia must have one and the same representation according to law, one and the same legislation, and a common Government to carry that legislation into effect." Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia then recognizes the constitutional settlement between Austria and Hungary, and stipulates that it shall take part in the framing of any similar laws for the future. It is next recognized that "besides the affairs common to countries under the crown of St. Stephen and to the other States of His Majesty, or affairs which must be decided in common, there are others which concern the common interests of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia, and for which the present compromise recognizes the necessity of common legislation and government for all the countries under the Hungarian Crown."

Then follow clauses relating to armed forces and finance, and to various details of the common affairs of Hungary, treated as one country with a definite national boundary. The contribution of Croatia-Slavonia to the common Hungarian expenditure is fixed at 5·57 per cent. Amongst other provisions are the following:—The forty Croatian deputies in the Diet of Buda-Pesth are not to receive definite instructions, but to act independently. Four of these, with one Croatian magnate, are to be nominated on the Hungarian Delegation. "The central Government will make a point of acting, on the territory of Croatia, in accord with the Government of this country, but inasmuch as it is responsible for its action to the common Diet, where Croatia also is represented, the national Government and the municipalities of Croatia must, so far as is necessary, render it their aid in the execution of its decisions, and even execute them directly where the central Government

has no special agents." Croatsians, Slavonians, and Dalmatians are to be nominated to the sections of the central administration dealing particularly with the affairs of the several nations.

For all matters not defined as common to the whole of Hungary, Croatia retains full autonomy—which, in consequence, "both for legislation and government, comprises all the details of internal administration, worship, public instruction, and justice in all its grades, including procedure—except so far as concerns maritime law." The Ban is responsible to the Diet of Croatia. He is appointed by the Emperor, at the instance of the President of the common Ministry of Hungary. He may no longer exercise a military command. The Croat language may be used by the deputies in the Hungarian Diet and Delegation. The port of Fiume is not regarded as part of Croatian territory, but depends directly on the crown of St. Stephen—the crown of Hungary worn by the Emperor.

Other fundamental laws regulate the internal government of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, with the judicial and local administration of these countries. The municipal governments of the towns and rural districts have a very large measure of local authority, based on popular representation.

Judicial Administration. In addition to the Departments of Justice in Austria and Hungary, there are Supreme Courts at Vienna and Buda-Pesth, Superior Provincial Courts at Vienna, Grätz, Trieste, Innsbrück, Prague, Brunn, Lemberg, Cracovia, and Zara (each taking the business of from one to three Provinces), "royal boards" at Buda-Pesth, Maros, and Agram, and a complete system of magistrates and police throughout the empire. The

Supreme Court at Vienna is composed of a President, a Joint President, four Senatorial Presidents, and a Procureur-General—all these being privy councillors.

Superior to all the courts mentioned are the Imperial Court of Justice, the Court of Judicial Administration and Cassation, and the Supreme Court of Exchequer, all of which sit at Vienna, with jurisdiction over the whole empire.

The law of Austria is based on the code, or *Gesetzbuch*, prepared by a legal commission in the reign of Francis I., modified by comparison with the law and administration of France and Great Britain. The value of precedent was not until recently much recognized in Austria, seeing that the proceedings of the courts were not published under the old order of things—such publication, like that of parliamentary debates, being regarded as a punishable offence. The Department of Justice was practically the highest court of appeal; but since the granting of the Constitution precedent has assumed something of the force which grows out of publicity, and the administration of the law is regarded with far less of prejudice than was the case thirty years ago.

The State contribution in aid of public education in Austria is about one shilling per head of the population, and in Hungary it is somewhat less. The rest of the burden falls on local rates, with or without school fees. Education is compulsory by law throughout the empire, but in the south especially it is found impossible to carry out this provision. The efficiency of the system is difficult to test by figures, owing to the multiplicity of the languages spoken. The most favourable statistics are those referring to the German and Magyar

populations. From the census of 1880 it appeared that the general average of illiterates in Austria, who could neither read nor write, was as high as 34·34 per cent. With a considerably lower population in Hungary, the number of public elementary schools is very nearly equal to the number in Austria. Of the 16,337 Austrian schools in 1884, German was the language used in 6,733, and Czech in 4,018, whilst there were under 500 schools in which more languages than one were systematically employed.

There are in Austria 8 universities, 6 technical high schools, 250 real-gymnasias and realschulen, and 71 normal schools. In Hungary there are 2 universities, 13 law schools, 177 real-gymnasias and realschulen, and 73 normal schools. The private elementary and other schools are not very numerous.

The Roman Catholic religion is established in Austria, but not in Hungary, though it predominates in this country also. Throughout the empire the adherents of this creed number 67 per cent. of the population, the Greek Church coming next with over 10 per cent. The value of the (Catholic) Church property is estimated at nearly £20,000,000, and the State contributes annually about half a million sterling. Amongst the expansive measures adopted in 1867 and the following years were laws to modify the relations with Rome created by the famous Concordat, to revive the law of civil marriage (for Austria only), and to deprive the Church of all control over education except in the principles of religion. Religious toleration had been laid down in the Constitution; and a secular Board of Inspectors was established for all schools in receipt of State grants.

From £10,000 to £12,000 a year is contributed by the State towards the support of the Protestant clergy—who belong mainly to what are known as the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions.

On the termination of the war with Prussia in 1867, the national debt of Austria amounted to **Finance.** 3,046,000,000 florins, the annual interest and sinking fund being placed at 151,000,000 florins. There was great difficulty in apportioning this liability between the empire and kingdom, but it was eventually arranged in 1868 that, after 25 millions had been apportioned among the Austrian provinces, the remainder should be undertaken by the Cisleithan and Transleithan Governments in the proportion of 7 to 3. Thus the debt of Austria was 2,114,700,000, nominally equivalent to £211,470,000, and that of Hungary to 906,300,000, or £90,630,000.

The charges for interest and sinking fund, with management, in the year 1887, was, for Austria, 123,248,000 florins, and for Hungary about 95,000,000 florins. Within the last ten years the expenditure of Austria has risen from 432,000,000 to 520,000,000 florins, and that of Hungary from 233,000,000 to 345,000,000 florins.

The budget of the Delegations for the whole empire showed an expenditure for 1887 (for Foreign Affairs, War, Finance, and Control) of 123,855,000 florins, which was contributed by Austria and Hungary in the amended proportions of 68·6 and 31·4 per cent. (This proportion was arrived at by a compromise in 1871, by which Hungary first undertook 2 per cent. of the total, and the remaining 98 per cent. was divided in the proportion of 7 to 3.)

1887. The relations of the two principal Governments in the Dual Empire continue to be close and cordial, in spite of the difficulties arising from the discrimination of joint and separate interests—a discrimination which may perhaps have to be more clearly defined. Thus, though there is a common Ministry of War for Austria-Hungary, there are different ministries dealing with the allied questions of militia and national defence; and though commercial affairs, tariff, and defence, are required to be conducted by the two monarchies on identical principles, it is not found easy in practice to agree upon these principles, or on the mode of their application. The year has witnessed various significant illustrations of the difficulty referred to.

Foreign Affairs. Austria has recently appeared to be on the verge of a war with Russia, owing to the mutual jealousies of the two Governments in regard to the reorganization of the Balkan provinces. (For the international position of the Dual Empire, especially as concerns its treaty engagements (see *Germany* 1887). The danger has fortunately been averted for the present; but it is understood that the burden imposed on Austria-Hungary by her vast military armaments weighs upon her with almost overwhelming gravity, and the advocacy of a general disarmament appears to be gathering force from day to day. An extraordinary credit of 52,000,000 florins for military purposes was voted by the Delegations in the course of their last session.

Home Rule. The Ministry of Count Taaffe, now in power, rests upon a majority composed of Slavs, Germans, and Clericals, with the qualified support of the Czechs and Poles. The two latter nations, like the Croatians, have preferred a demand for an increased measure

of Home Rule, which the Governments in Austria and Hungary are indisposed to grant. The Czechs threatened in the spring to withdraw their support from the Austrian Ministry, ostensibly on the education question (see page 373). which would have deprived Count Taaffe of his majority ; but means were found of pacifying them for the moment, partly by commercial arrangements specially beneficial to the trade of Bohemia. The home government of Austria, which is rendered extremely difficult by reason of the strong tendencies to Home Rule in various Provinces, may be described as founded on a policy of sops, directed towards maintaining the *status quo*. There is no present prospect of forming a strong and united party of Autonomists, for the Slavs, Magyars, and Germans are almost equally opposed to a solution of the crisis on a basis of extended Home Rule, which they regard as synonymous with the disintegration of the empire. In Hungary the feeling is very strong against the concession of further autonomy to Croatia, where coercive measures have recently been taken by the authorities. Amongst these measures is the suspension of the constitutional right of trial by jury for press offences during the next two years.

An important constitutional question, affecting the freedom of debate in the meetings of town councils and other corporate bodies was decided by the Reichsgericht in April. The Government had quashed the resolutions of certain town councils as travelling beyond the limits assigned to their deliberations. An appeal was lodged, and the Reichsgericht held that Article 13 of the Constitution, which guarantees the right of free speech, applied to corporations, and that the intervention of the authorities had been illegal. The judgment was regarded

as a valuable confirmation of the communal liberties of Austria; and the whole case illustrates the manner in which a written Constitution, however academically it may lay down the broad and general principles of popular government, is gradually interpreted and exemplified by legal decisions until it becomes as much a part of the national conscience and instinct as the older and less formal Constitutions.

BELGIUM.

The Limited Monarchy of Belgium (capital, Brussels) occupies an important central position in relation to the surrounding great Powers of France, Germany, and Great Britain, which has ensured for it a conspicuous place in political history. It has Holland on the north, the Empire of Germany (Rhine Province of Prussia), with the neutralized province of Luxemburg, on the east, and the Republic of France on the south and west.

Its area and population, as estimated in 1885, are exhibited in the following table, which also shows the number of Senators and Deputies returned by each Province:—

	Square Miles.	Population.	Senators.	House of Repres.
Antwerp	1,093	639,339	7	14
Brabant	1,268	1,060,053	13	25
East Flanders	1,158	924,273	11	22
West Flanders	1,249	721,437	9	17
Hainault	1,437	1,029,885	12	24
Liège	1,117	710,819	9	17
Limburg	931	218,951	3	5
Luxemburg	1,706	214,760	3	5
Namur	1,414	333,761	5	9
Total	11,373	5,853,278	72	138

The average population per square mile is thus 514.

Belgium resembles Switzerland in the variety of languages spoken by its inhabitants. It appeared from the census of 1880 that 45 out of every 100 habitually spoke Flemish, 40 spoke French, and 8 commonly spoke both languages. German also is spoken by a considerable number, exclusively or in common with French or Flemish.

After the Napoleonic wars, Belgium and Hol-
land were united (without the consent of the former) under one Crown, and were known for
Inter-
national
Position.
a few years as the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In the revolution of 1830, caused by the short-sighted policy of Holland, which failed to recognize and provide for the distinctive tendencies of the Belgian people, a declaration of independence was made at Brussels; and a Saxe-Coburg prince was elected to the throne by a national assembly in the following year. It should be observed that the revolution of 1830 was made successfully by a combination of the clerical and liberal elements. The old Constitution of the United Provinces had been a loose yet strong federal bond. The arrangement of 1814 restricted the home rule of Belgium; the bond was tightened, and it broke.

After much negotiation a Conference was held in London for the adjustment of the question in 1839, when the frontiers of Belgium were determined. Luxemburg was divided between the two countries, and the European Powers recognized Belgium as an independent kingdom, whose neutrality was a matter of common concern. They guaranteed this neutrality "in the interest of European peace," thus virtually reserving to themselves, jointly or severally, the right to intervene if the neutrality were threatened. Great Britain did so intervene in 1870, on the

outbreak of the war between France and Germany, binding herself to take warlike measures if either belligerent should violate Belgian soil.

CONSTITUTION.

The contract between the Belgian nation and King Leopold in 1830-1 may not inaptly be compared with that established in Britain by the measures of 1688-9. The Belgian Constitution declares that the government of the country is in the hands of the people, acting through its representatives. It lays down the principles of inviolability of domicile and property, liberty of religious opinion and public worship, the rights of meeting and association, freedom of the press and of education, the responsibility of ministers to the representatives of the people, and the independence of the judges. The State may not recognize any Church exclusively, nor interfere in the appointment of ministers of religion. Civil marriage preceding the religious ceremony is insisted on.

The King is head of the executive power, as defined in the Constitution, and decrees and judgments are executed in his name; but every act must be countersigned by a responsible minister, and the Chambers are the sole interpreters of the authority of the Constitution. The King's person is sacred; he transmits his power to his next male heir, and in default of a male heir he may nominate his successor, subject to the approval of the Chambers. The King nominates and dismisses his ministers, confers rank in the army, and appoints to public offices, except as indicated by law. He may not suspend the laws, or dispense with their execution. He commands the land and sea forces, declares war, negotiates treaties of peace, alliance,

and commerce, which, however, need the sanction of the Chambers. He has the right of pardon. He may confer titles of nobility, but not create a social Order, since all citizens must be absolutely equal in the sight of the law.

The form of oath required to be taken by the King, in presence of the Chambers, is as follows:—"I swear to observe the Constitution and the laws of the Belgian people, to maintain the independence of the nation, and the integrity of its territory."

The King now has a civil list of £132,000.

Legislation is the task of the two Chambers, co-operating with the King. The members represent the nation at large, and not only their constituencies. Their sittings are public, but each Chamber may resolve itself into a secret committee on the demand of its president and ten members. No member may receive a pension, or hold any paid office under the Government. The persons of members are inviolable (except *flagrante delicto*) during the session.

The Chamber of Representatives is composed of members chosen directly by citizens paying not less than 20 florins in annual taxation—which at this time enfranchises about one in forty of the population. The rate of members to population is fixed at 1 for every 40,000; and the figures given in the fourth column of the table on p. 386 are reckoned on the basis of population in 1880. Candidates must be resident Belgian citizens, having attained the age of twenty-five. The Chamber is renewed by halves every two years, except in case of a dissolution. Deputies not permanently residing in Brussels receive a salary of about £16 16s. during each month when the Chamber is in session. The Lower Chamber alone has the initiative in all measures

relating to public revenue and expenditure, or to the increase of the army.

The Senate contains half as many members as the Lower Chamber, and it is renewable by halves every four years—or altogether in case of a dissolution. Senators must be forty years old, and pay at least 1,000 florins in annual taxation. They must sit at the shortest forty days, and they receive no compensation for their services. Both Chambers meet annually in November, and both nominate their own Presidents and officers.

The Council of Ministers (now comprising seven members, who are heads of the Executive Departments) have the right of entry and speech in the Chambers, or they may be summoned before the Chambers; but if they are in receipt of the emoluments of office they cannot actually be members of either Chamber. A minister impeached by the Chamber of Representatives must be brought before the Court of Cassation, and the King cannot shelter him, or pardon him when condemned, unless at the request of one of the Chambers. No member of the royal family may be a minister.

There is also a Belgian Privy Council, the members of which are called *ministres d'état*, who may be summoned for consultation on extraordinary occasions.

Amendments. Though a considerable number of laws have been passed since 1831 which carry out the principles of the Belgian Constitution—which has, in fact, served as the basis of several others, that of Germany amongst them—it has not been materially amended. The text provides that “the legislative power may declare that a revision of any particular constitutional regulation is necessary. After this declaration the two Chambers are

thereby dissolved. Two new Chambers are then to be elected according to law. These Chambers, in conjunction with the King, will legislate on the points submitted for revision. In such case the Chambers cannot deliberate unless two-thirds at least of the members of each Chamber are present; and no change can be adopted without the approval of at least two-thirds of the total of votes."

The Constitution of 1831 laid down the following principles to be observed in the government of provinces and communes:—(1) direct election, except as may be determined by law in respect of the chief officers of communes, and State commissioners in the provincial councils; (2) all provincial and communal interests are delegated to the provincial and communal councils, subject to the approval of their acts in such respects as the law may determine; (3) the sittings of provincial and communal councils, within the limits established by law, must be held in public; (4) the budgets and accounts must be published; (5) provision is made for the intervention of the Crown or the legislature, so as to guard against injury to the general welfare by the encroachment of the provincial and communal councils. The communal authorities are charged with the drawing up of measures of domestic concern, and, like the *maires* in France, keep the public accounts. These bodies exercise more extensive powers than are possessed by similar bodies in other countries. They have control of the police, public instruction, and public works, in their respective communes. At the head of each is the *burgomaster*, who personally directs the police, and a number of aldermen, in proportion to the importance of the locality, of whom each directs one or several departments of the communal service, Local Administration.

Judicial Adminis- tration. Besides the Court of Cassation, sitting at Brussels, which is the highest legal tribunal in the country, there are courts of appeal at Brussels, Gand, and Liège, a Court of Accounts (Exchequer), and a court of military law. Judges are appointed by the King, and are irremovable, except by decree of the Court of Cassation. No extraordinary judicial tribunal or commission can be created. There is trial by jury for criminal and political cases, and for cases affecting the public press.

The Court of Accounts is nominated by the Representative Chamber, its business being to examine and control the accounts of the general administration, and of all who have relations with the public treasury. It sees that the estimated expenditure is not exceeded or varied, checks the accounts of the different Departments, and reports thereon to the State. Its functions closely correspond to those of the "Treasury" Department in Great Britain.

Education and Religion. Elementary education is compulsory, and aided by a State grant of nearly £1 a head (on the basis of attendance). The proportion of illiterates in 1880 was 42 per cent. Every commune is compelled by law to maintain at least one elementary school, and to provide two-thirds of the expenditure—the State furnishing one-sixth and the Province one-sixth. The education grant in 1887 was £412,022 for elementary education, and £218,085 for secondary and higher education. There are four universities—Ghent and Liège controlled by the State, Brussels and Louvain independent. Louvain only has the "logical faculties."

The religion of the Belgians is almost exclusively Roman Catholic; the State grant to this Church in 1887 being £191,000; to Protestants, £8,412; and to Jews, £612.

The Constitution declares that no tax of any kind may be imposed, and no pension can be granted, except by a law, or for longer than one year. No tax can be imposed upon a province or commune except by the provincial or communal council.

The public Revenue estimated for 1887 was £12,785,004, of which £4,756,000 was derived from the working of the railways (about three-quarters of the gross receipts). The Customs were £1,000,000. Expenditure, £12,666,500. Public Debt, about £85,000,000.

CONGO FREE STATE.

Attention has been called (p. 25) to the Constituting Act of the Congo Free State, which may be regarded as the first essay of Belgium in the field of colonization. The King, through whose liberality the International Association of the Congo carries on its work, with Mr. H. M. Stanley as pioneer, became suzerain of the State in 1885, the Belgian Government washing its hands of all authority and responsibility in regard to it.

The State occupies, roughly speaking, a territory of about 1,050,000 square miles. The population is estimated at 27,000,000. Starting from the mouth of the Congo (6° south latitude) the boundary of the Free State includes a broad belt of territory on the north bank, as far as Manyanga, whence it follows the main stream, branching off northwards as far as latitude 4° north of the equator. After running eastward on this parallel as far as longitude 30°, it descends through 16 degrees of latitude, skirting Lake Albert Nyanza, and passing through Mutanzige, Tanganyika, and Bangweolo. Turning westward in 12° south latitude, it returns in a northerly direction along the 24th meridian

as far as latitude 6° south of the equator, whence it runs westward to the river Noki, a tributary of the Congo near its mouth.

A convention between the Free State and France, signed in April, 1887, adopts the thalweg of the Oubragi as the boundary between their respective settlements. This brings the greater part of the western valley of the Congo under the influence of France. Portugal occupies the coast from 5° to about 11° south latitude.

The King of Belgium is assisted in the home government by three Ministers, and he is represented on the Congo by a Governor, under whom there is a Committee of Administration and several local administrators.

The station at Stanley Falls, which had been destroyed by the tribes, was restored in 1887 by Mr. Stanley, who took the Congo route for his expedition in relief of Emin Pasha. He left the Arab trader, Tippoo Tib, in charge, making with him an agreement in the following terms:—
“Tippoo is to hoist the flag of the Congo State at its station near Stanley Falls, and to maintain the authority of the State on the Congo and all its affluents at the said station downwards to the Biyerre or Aruwimi river, and to prevent the tribes thereon, as well as Arabs and others, from engaging in the slave trade. He is to be at full liberty to carry on his legitimate private trade in any direction, and to send his caravans to and from any places he may desire.”

1887. The political situation in Belgium is one of marked instability, and the Government have been fortunate in escaping both a ministerial crisis and an outbreak of revolutionary violence. It is probably the fear

of the latter which has mainly served to prevent the former. There are three political parties in Parliament, all of them powerful, but only one of them capable under existing circumstances of holding and retaining office :—(1) the Clericals, who believe that it is necessary in the interests of society to subordinate everything to the authority of the Church; (2) the Liberals, who, without attacking the Church, aim at preventing it from exercising a dominant influence in political affairs, on the ground that it has formally condemned the foundations on which modern liberties rest, and that its complete triumph would be followed by the suppression of those liberties; and (3) the Radicals, who demand a revision of the Constitution, and a franchise based on universal suffrage, or at least the enfranchisement of all who can read and write. The Government is at this moment in the hands of the moderate Clericals (with M. Beernaert as *chef du cabinet*). They are kept in office by the inability of the Liberals and Radicals to combine for their overthrow; but their position is especially difficult because they depend ultimately on the clergy, and they are unable as prudent men to satisfy their friends. Nevertheless, an Act has been passed which allows the communes, if so disposed, to introduce and support clerical (confessional) schools for primary instruction, and by this means it is hoped that the Church will steadily improve its position, and acquire a decisive influence over future generations.

The Liberals, or middle party, would rather submit to the present clerical predominance than take a course which might bring the Radicals into power, because they believe that the Parliamentary Radicals would be mastered by the masses outside, and forced to adopt a wild and destructive policy. It undoubtedly seems that a social revolution has

been perilously imminent in Belgium, though it is a fair question whether the refusal of the Liberals to revise the Constitution does not tend rather to induce than to prevent an outbreak. The result of two important discussions during the last session of the Representative Chambers illustrates the nature of the deadlock. A proposal supported by a majority of the Opposition required obligatory personal service in the army, under conditions which were unpalatable to the Clericals. The Government therefore secured the rejection of the Bill. By way of rejoinder for this rebuff, the Radicals, hoping to gain the support of the Liberals who had favoured the principle of the Service Bill, pressed to a division their proposal for a reduction of the franchise ; but they could only muster 33 votes out of a total of 116.

In the meantime it has been thought necessary to adopt a system of fortifications in the Valley of the Meuse—chiefly at Liège and Namur—for the better protection of the country against possible infractions of its neutrality. The argument which has prevailed in other neutralized countries—that international guarantees dispense them from the necessity of fortification, though not from the exhibition of an armed force in time of war—was not allowed to prevail.

Revolution-ary Ideas. The dense population of Belgium, the depressed condition of trade, the extremely low wages of some classes of working men, with other political and social causes of discontent, have led to a somewhat menacing state of affairs amongst the political organizations of the artisans. The condition of the labouring classes is recognized by Belgian statesmen as a matter of public concern, and the ideas of State Socialism which have found favour in other countries have been put forward and ably supported. But no solution has been reached. A Labour Commission was ap-

pointed to take the subject into consideration, and its report (issued in May) was based on the following principles :— (1) That workmen's assurance against old age, sickness, and death, ought to be obligatory ; (2) that the law should indicate the classes to whom the compulsion should apply ; (3) that the contracts of insurance ought to be made not by the State, but by independent syndicates ; (4) that the State ought not to guarantee the operations of the syndicates, and ought not to intervene in regard to the mode of payment of the premiums. It seems to have been thought that the legal compulsion to insure would be an adequate guarantee for the syndicates ; and perhaps it might be ; but the need of the moment is to put the working men in a position to afford a premium after providing the means of livelihood.

The acuteness of the labour crisis was attested by a proposal for an universal strike, which at one time appeared to be imminent. A congress of 145 labour societies of every description met at Mons, in the month of August, and carried a resolution which declared that the Congress " considering that a general strike is a powerful means of forcing the Government to grant universal suffrage and those economical reforms we are all desirous of realizing ; but considering that such a strike can only succeed if seriously and carefully organized, decides as follows :—" Then came a long enumeration of the measures to be taken, such as increasing the number of co-operative bakeries, collecting large quantities of flour, subscribing to a strike fund, &c., and, finally, entering into relations with foreign workmen's organizations, so that they should manifest their sympathy with the workmen of Belgium, and prevent any military or diplomatic intervention on the part of their respective Governments.

This was the most moderate of several proposals, and it only rallied 59 votes out of the total of 145. There had been 16 secessions and 25 abstentions, whilst the remainder voted for a still more revolutionary proposition. It was argued on their behalf that the mere organization of a strike was labour thrown away, since it would not terrify the Government. But "if on a certain fixed day some 300,000 workmen scattered all over Belgium went out on strike, determined not to resume work till the Government had granted universal suffrage, the authorities might yield. The troops were not sufficiently numerous to keep order simultaneously in all parts of Belgium. Yet the men on strike must be fed, and, having no funds to fall back upon, would take food by force. The shops might be sacked, and the Government, in terror at this prospect, must yield, or a revolution would ensue." A resolution embodying these ideas was put to the vote:—"Considering that a general strike, if legal, would be without effect, and that a general strike can only bring about a social transformation when organized for the purpose of producing a revolution, the Congress decides that the propaganda should be directed in this sense, and efforts must be made to profit in the near future by any political or economical events that may supply a good pretext for provoking this general strike."

So far, then, as is known, the preparations for the universal strike are now proceeding.

BRAZIL.

The Constitutional Empire of Brazil (capital, Rio de Janeiro) occupies the east and centre of South America, extending over about 38 degrees of latitude north and south of the equator. It is bounded in succession by French,

Dutch, and British Guiana, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, the Argentine Republic, and Uruguay—thus touching every State on the continent except Chili.

The area is variously estimated between 8,000,000 and 8,200,000 square miles, and the population between ten and thirteen millions.

The twenty provincial governments of Brazil (in the order of population) are Minas, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, San Paulo, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Sul, Ceara, Maranhão, Parahyba, Alagoas, Para, Rio Grande del Norte, Piahy, Santa Catharina, Sergipe, Goyaz, Parana, Espirito Santo, Amazonas, Matto Grosso. The last two are the largest provinces; these, with the western half of Para, comprise the higher central districts of the territory, and account for half its area. The most dense populations are on the southern coast line.

It is estimated that more than one-third of the inhabitants are Europeans, and about 1,500,000 slaves, whilst the majority are mulattoes, half-castes, freed negroes, and nomadic Indians. A scheme for the gradual abolition of slavery is now in operation, by which it is expected that the institution will disappear in about ten years.

GOVERNMENT.

Acquired by Portugal early in the sixteenth century, Brazil was held by her against all comers. The royal family of Portugal took refuge in Rio de Janeiro when the French overran their country in 1807; and the male branch of the family now occupies the throne of Brazil. In 1815 the exiled Dom João decreed that the colony should thenceforth constitute an integral part of the "Kingdom of Por-

tugal, Brazil, and the Algarves," and he accordingly assumed the title of King of Brazil. In 1821 the King returned to Lisbon, leaving his son, Dom Pedro, as Regent. A separatist tendency had been manifest for some years, when, in 1822, a resolution of the Portuguese Cortes, requiring the presence of Dom Pedro in his native country, brought things to a crisis. The Brazilians declared for independence, and Dom Pedro resolved to put himself at the head of the movement. He summoned a general Council, and subsequently a Constituent Assembly, the upshot being that he was declared "Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil" (1822). In the following year the Emperor appointed a Commission of ten to draw up a Constitution, and thus the broadest assertion of popular liberties was combined, by common assent of monarch and people, with the adoption of the name and form of imperialism.

The Constitution was adopted by the Emperor and by popular vote in 1824; and the independence of Brazil was recognized by Portugal in the following year. A law of 1834 gave a quasi-federal character to the empire by delegating to the representative Provincial Assemblies both legislative and executive authority within the Provinces. The Presidents, however, are not elective.

The substance of these two instruments, and of later constitutional developments, is given below.

The text of the Brazilian Constitution of 1824—which was almost literally adopted as the Constitution of Portugal in 1826—seems to have been due in the main to Carneiro Campos, a prominent politician of the time, and a member of the Council of Ten. The fact is worth mentioning, because it is not in all cases easy to assign the constitu-

tions of the last century to their more responsible authors.

After a preliminary invocation "in the name of the Thrice-holy Trinity," the first clause declares that "the Empire of Brazil is the political association of all Brazilian citizens." The chapter or "title" on the public powers runs as follows:—"The distribution and mutual agreement of political powers is the conserving principle of the rights of citizens, and the most certain mode of rendering effectual the guarantees conferred on them by the Constitution. The several political powers recognized by the Constitution of the Empire of Brazil are four in number: legislative, moderating, executive, and judiciary. The representatives of the Brazilian nation are the Emperor and the General Assembly. All powers in the Empire of Brazil are delegated by the nation." [The last sentence is omitted in the Portuguese Constitution; but the assignment of a representative character to the monarch is retained.]

Amongst the attributions of the General Assembly are these—to receive the oath of the Emperor, Prince Imperial, Regent, or Council of Regency; "on the death of the Emperor, or in the event of the throne becoming vacant, to institute an inquiry into the administration which has come to an end, and to reform the abuses which have crept in"; to select a new dynasty if the reigning dynasty should fail; to make, interpret, suspend, or abrogate the laws; to take measures for the maintenance of the Constitution, and for the general welfare of the nation.

The Assembly is renewed every four years. The Chambers meet on the 3rd of May in each year, and sit four months. The members of both are styled, "August

and very worthy lords representing the nation," and there are the usual provisions for their immunity, as well as one for their payment, at the rate of £600 for the session in the case of deputies, and £900 in the case of senators. The present electoral regulations date from 1881. There are 125 deputies, in as many electoral districts, and 62 senators, their qualifying income being £80 and £160 respectively. Voters for both Chambers must show an annual income of £40. The voting is direct; but candidates for the Senate are to be returned in lists containing three times as many names as there are vacancies (in the respective Provinces). The Emperor then selects one-third of the names in each list.

The Council of State and the Council of Ministers (who are fully responsible to the Chambers) are framed on the model of the Spanish Constitution.

The fifth Chapter treats of the Emperor and his duties, and opens with the declaration that "the moderating power is the key of the whole political organization. It is delegated to the Emperor exclusively, as to the head of the nation and its first representative, in order that he may incessantly guard the independence, stability, and harmony of the other political powers." The Emperor exercises the moderating power (1) by nominating the senators; (2) by summoning extraordinary sessions of the General Assembly when necessary; (3) by sanctioning the decrees and resolutions of the Assembly; (4) by approving or provisionally suspending the resolutions of the Provincial Assemblies; (5) by proroguing or adjourning the General Assembly, or dissolving the Chamber of Deputies on the condition of immediately convoking another to replace it; (6) by freely appointing or dismissing Ministers of State; (7) by sus-

pending magistrates; (8) by remitting or reducing sentences passed by the courts; (9) by proclaiming amnesties in special cases.

These "moderating" functions are carefully distinguished from the "executive" functions also discharged by the Emperor—the former being his direct and personal duties to the State, whilst the latter are less direct, the responsibility, if not the initiation, falling to his Council of Ministers.* The executive functions are (1) to convoke a new ordinary General Assembly on June 8rd, in the third year of the existing Legislature; (2) to appoint bishops and incumbents; (3) magistrates; (4) civil servants; (5) military and naval commanders; (6) ambassadors and diplomatic and commercial agents; (7) to direct political negotiations with foreign Powers; (8) to conclude offensive and defensive treaties of alliance, and commercial treaties, referring them to the Assembly when the interests of the State allow; (9) to declare war and peace; (10) to grant letters of administration; (11) to confer titles, honours, military orders and distinctions—all new financial obligations being subject to the approval of the Assembly; (12) to take measures for the due execution of the laws; (13) to control the expenditure of the supplies appropriated by the Assembly to the various branches of public administration; (14) to grant or refuse the *benepiacito* to the decrees of the Provincial Assemblies, or to letters apostolic and other ecclesiastical decrees.

[The foregoing sections were transferred almost *verbatim* to the Portuguese Constitution.]

* No provision was made in 1824 for a Council of State, but this instrument was supplied in 1841, from which time no doubt the direct and personal responsibility of the Emperor was considerably lightened.

The ministerial heads of departments are seven in number. They are all called Secretaries of State, and cannot be relieved of responsibility by the verbal or written order of the Emperor. The Council of State includes 24 members, nominated for life by the Emperor. The present Council includes, besides the Emperor, the Princess Imperial and her husband, eight ordinary members, and four extraordinary.

Judicial Administration. The Judiciary Power is independent, and is exercised by judges and juries in civil and criminal causes. "Juries pronounce on the facts, and the judges apply the law." The judges (*juizes de direito*) are immovable during good behaviour. "All judges and officers of justice are responsible for any abuses of power or prevarications which they may commit in the discharge of their functions. . . . In civil causes and prosecutions the parties may nominate judicial umpires, whose awards shall be carried out without appeal, if the parties have so agreed beforehand. No trial shall be entered on without a declaration that there has been an attempt at conciliation. To this end there shall be judges of the peace, who shall be elected for the same time and on the same system as members of the municipal councils. . . . In the capital of the empire, in addition to the Court which must exist there, as in the other provinces, there shall be a Supreme Court of Justice, composed of judges learned in the law, selected from the Courts by seniority, who shall have the title of councillors. . . . This Supreme Court has power to grant or refuse a re-hearing, to take cognizance of the offences and professional shortcomings of its own members, of those of the Courts, of members of the diplomatic body, and of the Provincial presidents; to take cog-

nizance of disputes concerning the jurisdiction and competence of the Provincial Courts, and to decide thereon."

[These provisions also are embodied substantially in the Portuguese Constitution.]

In each Province there is a President nominated by the Emperor. In all cities and towns there are municipal councils, with financial and general powers of administration and control of the police. These are elective, and the member securing the largest number of votes is the president. The Constitution "recognizes and guarantees to every citizen the right of participation in the affairs of his Province which directly concern his personal interests." In development of this general principle the Provincial Legislative Assemblies of one Chamber were created in 1834. The elections are held every two years, by the same voters as for the Chamber of Deputies. The first meetings take place in the chief towns of the Provinces, and the next when and where the Assemblies may direct. These bodies choose their own officers, verify their powers, administer oaths, and control the police and general administration. Their powers are detailed in the Constituting Act. The number of members varies from 45 in Rio de Janeiro (excluding the capital) to 22 in the minor Provinces. The sessions continue during two months of each year.

The following clauses are common to the Brazilian and Portuguese Constitutions :— "The General Assembly [Cortes], at the opening of its session, makes inquiry whether the political Constitution of the State has been scrupulously observed, and takes such measures as it may deem fit on its own authority. If . . . it is recognized that one or other of its articles ought to be

Revision.

modified, a proposal to that effect shall be made in writing. It must originate in the Chamber of Deputies, and be supported by one-third of its members. The proposal shall be read three times, with an interval of six days between two readings, and, after the third, the Chamber of Deputies shall consider if it can submit the proposal for discussion in conformity with what is otherwise prescribed for the enactment of the laws. If it be submitted for discussion, and if the necessity for modifying a constitutional clause be recognized, a measure shall be passed, sanctioned and promulgated by the Emperor [King], by which the electors for the next Chamber shall be directed to give a special mandate for the proposed amendment or reform. In the first session of the following Legislature the question shall be submitted for discussion, and if the change, or introduction of the fundamental law, is adopted, the amendment shall be added to the Constitution, and solemnly promulgated. There are no Constitutional Acts save those which fix the respective limits and qualities of the political powers, or the political and personal rights of citizens. Every non-constitutional Act may be modified by ordinary Legislatures, without the formalities indicated above.

General "The inviolability of the civil and political **Guarantees.** rights of Brazilian [Portuguese] citizens, based upon liberty, personal security, and property, is guaranteed by the Constitution of the empire [kingdom] in the following manner :—No citizen may be compelled to do, or hindered in doing, anything whatsoever, except by virtue of a law. The provisions of the law shall not have a retrospective effect. Every one may communicate his thoughts verbally or by writing, and publish them in print, without being subject to censure, save that he shall be responsible for the wrongs

which he may inflict in the exercise of this right, in the cases and forms determined by law. No man may be disturbed on the ground of his religion, provided that he respects the religion of the State, and does not offend against public morality. Every one may dwell upon or quit the territory of the empire [kingdom] as he shall find convenient, and may carry his goods with him, so that he conforms to the regulations of the police. . . . Every citizen has in his house an inviolable asylum. No man may enter it by night save with his consent, or to aid against fire or flood ; and his domicile may not be violated by day, save in case and manner provided by the law. No man may be arrested but for a crime defined by the law, unless it be according to the special and legal exceptions—in which case the judge, by signed writ, shall inform the accused person of the reasons for his arrest, and the names of the accusers and witnesses, and this within twenty-four hours from the moment of incarceration, if the arrest takes place in the cities, towns, or other places near to the residence of the judge, or, at greater distance, after a corresponding delay to be fixed by the law. Even in case of a crime specified by the law, no man shall be sent to prison, or detained there when arrested, if he provide sufficient bail in cases where the law allows bail ; and generally, for crimes which do not involve a punishment greater than six months' imprisonment, or banishment from his district (comarca), the arrested person may secure his liberty under bail. Except in the case of apprehension *in flagrante delicto*, the arrest cannot be made without written warrant by a lawful authority. In the event of arbitrary arrest, the judge who ordered it and the person who demanded it incur penalties which are provided by law. . . .

“Prisons must be healthy, clean, and well-ventilated, having divisions for the separation of prisoners according to the circumstances and nature of their crimes. Rights of property are guaranteed in their fullest sense. . . . No kind of labour, cultivation, industry, or commerce, may be prohibited, if not opposed to the public morals, security, and health of the citizens. . . . The secrecy of letters is inviolable. The postal authorities are strictly responsible for any infraction of this article. Rewards conferred for services rendered to the State, both civil and military, are guaranteed, as well as the rights acquired by their bestowal, in conformity with the law. Public officers are strictly responsible for the abuses or negligence of which they are guilty in the discharge of their duties, or for which their subordinates could not be fully responsible. Every citizen may present appeals, complaints, or petitions, in writing, to the Legislative authorities, or report to them any infraction of the Constitution, with a demand that the authors of such infraction shall be held personally responsible. The Constitution also guarantees public relief. Primary instruction is gratuitous for all citizens. There shall exist colleges and universities, in which the elements of science, literature, and art shall be taught. The constitutional authorities cannot suspend the Constitution, and the guarantees of personal rights, save in the cases and circumstances specified in the following article. In case of insurrection or hostile invasion, if the security of the State require the suspension for a given period of certain of the forms which guarantee personal liberty, provision may be made therefor by a special law. Nevertheless, if the Assembly be not at the time in session, and if the country runs imminent danger, the Government may take the same step as a pro-

visional and indispensable measure, on the condition of suspending it as soon as the urgent necessity on which it was founded shall cease. It must in every case forward to the Assembly, as soon as it has met, a report of the arrests and other preventive measures which it may have ordered; and all the authorities which shall have received injunctions to carry them out shall be responsible for the abuses which have been committed."

Elementary education is controlled by the General and Provincial Assemblies. In certain Provinces it has been made compulsory. The annual education vote from the public Treasury is about £60,000, of which a considerable portion is devoted to high schools and colleges.

The State maintains the Roman Catholic bishops and priests, and grants small subsidies to the few religious communities outside the Establishment. There is an archbishop of Bahia, and eleven bishops.

The Revenue estimated for 1887 was £13,682,000, and the Expenditure £14,466,000. There has been a yearly deficit for many years past, and the Public Debt now approaches £94,000,000. In 1887 the customs tariff was made considerably more stringent.

CHINA.

The Absolute Monarchy of China (capital, Pekin) occupies a vast territory on the east of Asia, extending from north of the Sea of Japan to the north of Hindostan. The southern frontier is formed by Hindostan, Burmah, Siam, and French Indo-China. The northern Russo-Chinese

boundary begins at Possiet, on the Manchurian coast, and is marked chiefly by rivers for 2,000 miles to the westward, and then by mountain ranges to the Himalayas. China is stated to be spending about a quarter of a million annually in strengthening this line.

The area of the nineteen provinces of China proper is estimated at 1,297,999 square miles. The dependencies of Manchuria, Mongolia, Thibet, Jungaria, and Chinese Turkestan, bring up the total to 4,179,559 square miles.

The population of China proper is estimated at nearly 383 millions—an average of 234 to the square mile. The population of the dependencies aforesaid brings up the total to over 404 millions.

The number of foreign residents in 1885 was registered as 6,698, of whom 2,534 were British subjects, chiefly domiciled in Shanghai.

Suzerainty. China has been wont to make large claims

of suzerainty which could not in all cases be strictly maintained. On this subject a Japanese diplomatist, M. Arinori, Minister in Britain up to 1884, laid down what seems to be a correct estimate of the position of China in regard to her more distant protectorates. It is, according to M. Arinori, one of the fictions of Chinese foreign policy that States which are in reality independent are nevertheless in some mysterious way dependent upon China. “Tonquin, the Loo-Choo Islands, Corea, and Siam, form the outermost circle of so-called dependencies. There is an inner circle, such as Mongolia, Thibet, &c., over which China does exercise sovereignty; but they are quite distinct from the four first-named territories. In these four Chinese suzerainty is purely nominal. In the Loo-Choo Islands Japan ignored the claims of China, and although China was

very sore she did not go to war on that account. Neither did she go to war about Tonquin. In the case of Corea the Chinese have allowed the Coreans to negotiate treaties with foreign Powers, thereby virtually waiving the claims upon which they formerly insisted."

China has within the last half-century made a notable advance by the adoption of the international law of Europe, by the conclusion of commercial treaties with all the Great Powers, and by participation in the diplomatic system of the western nations with whom she has been brought in contact. The Chinese consider that their diplomacy during the past few years has been highly successful. They have limited the victories of France in Tonquin; and they have obtained the retrocession by the French of a cathedral overlooking the imperial grounds in Pekin, which had offended the susceptibilities of the court. From Great Britain they have secured the decennial embassy from Burmah, as well as an arrangement whereby the importation of opium is to be charged with a duty of £15 per cwt. They have rather strengthened their position in Corea, and have maintained (as they think) a dignified and yet a conciliatory attitude in the face of Japanese aggression.

GOVERNMENT.

The reigning dynasty of China came from Manchuria, about the middle of the seventeenth century. The succession to the throne is hereditary, though not of necessity from father to son. The Emperor, with the assistance of the Grand Council, and the Han-lin, or Sacred College, appoints his successor, who must be a Manchu of imperial blood—a son, or a nephew, or even a cousin, but in any case the descendant of an Emperor. The present Hwang-ti, or

Emperor, by name Kwang-su, is the cousin of his predecessor. He was three years old when nominated by the dowager Empress and the Council, and a scandal was caused by the fact that nephews of the previous Emperor were passed over in his favour.

The power of the Crown in China is despotic. The Emperor is head of the (Confucian) religion, presides over the Sacred College, and conducts the chief ceremonies. He is the fountain of promotions and honours, which are distributed annually in great numbers, as the result of competitions not confined to intellectual proficiency, but including also a selection for physical prowess, virtue, and prudence.

Besides the Grand Council, which is a general Council of Notables, summoned as occasion requires, and the Sacred College already named, there is the Nei-ko, or Executive Council, which usually includes two Manchus of high rank, two Chinese, and two members of the Han-lin.

Under the direction of the Emperor and the Executive Council there are seven Departments:—(1) Public Works; (2) Public Revenues; (3) Ceremonies—which is legislative, or at any rate expository of the public laws; (5) Criminal, having a judicial authority; (5) Civil, which superintends the appointment of functionaries and the conduct of the public service; (6) Military; and (7) Naval. To these may be added the Yamen, or Board of Foreign Affairs. Each of the Departments has a Manchu and a Chinese President, with two Vice-Presidents of each race.

The Board of Censors, or Tu-cha-yen, which in its composition bears witness to the same compromise between Manchus and Chinese, serves in some degree as intermediary between the Emperor and the Departments. A Censor attends each meeting of the Departmental board.

Subordinate to this machinery are the various ranks of public officers in all the services.

There are eighteen provincial governments in China proper, with an average population of over twenty-one millions; and the outlying dependencies are Manchuria, Mongolia, Thibet, Chinese Turkestan, Formosa, and, more or less under Chinese suzerainty, Corea, Burmah, and Bhotan. In 1886-7 the ruler of Nepaul sent tribute to China, accompanied by a letter of submission from "Erdeni, King of the Goorkhas," to the Emperor. A similar mission is despatched every five years. The Corean sovereign receives his investiture from Peking, and the customs of the country are collected by Chinese officials. Tonquin and the Loo-Choo Isles have recently been occupied by the French and Japanese respectively.

Elementary education is not systematically provided in China. To learn, as well as to teach, is regarded as a professional pursuit; and apart from the men who spontaneously devote their lives to study, the acquisition of knowledge was until recently confined to those who desired to enter the public service. But since the partial opening up of the country, the Government has begun to see the necessity for further educational efforts, at any rate in respect of adults. The study of military and naval affairs, mechanical and engineering science, law and medicine, modern languages and history, has already made considerable advances under the encouragement of the State. There is at Peking a College supported by the Government, intended expressly for "foreign knowledge," many of the teachers being European.

**Education
and
Religion.**

The State religion, as already mentioned, is Confucian; but the majority of the Chinese people are Buddhists—a

form better calculated to attract large masses of men than the cold philosophy and abstract worship of the older faith. Buddhism has more ritual than either Confucianism or its developed outcome, Taoism. Whilst Confucianism enjoined ancestor-worship as the highest religious duty, Buddhism extolled humanity and morality, taught the vanity of earthly things and the comparative worthlessness of wealth, and encouraged its devotees to look for the transmigration of souls and the ultimate nirvana.

In addition to the three religions mentioned above the Mahomedans are numerous represented in the western provinces ; and there are over a million Christians, mainly Roman Catholics.

Finance. No budgets are published in China. The revenue, chiefly derived from a land tax, import and export duties, and taxes on rice and salt, has been estimated at from 20 to 25 millions sterling, of which the foreign customs alone yield about 4 millions. The public debt, which is of recent growth, amounts to something like £5,000,000.

By treaties concluded with various foreign Powers, China has made capitulations which secure certain commercial facilities and privileges to merchants trading in the treaty ports. The Chinese Government has shown less disposition to withdraw from these obligations than Japan has done in regard to her treaties. The difference of the views entertained in the two countries has been pointed out by M. Arinori. "The Chinese," he said in 1884, "are more dependent upon foreigners than the Japanese. Japan has only two Europeans employed as assessors of the foreign goods imported. In China they began by placing their Custom House under Chinese officials. The result was universal dissatisfaction,

great expense, and delay. They have now for some years been compelled to place the whole management of their Customs in the hands of an Englishman; and not only is the supreme control in European hands, but all the chief subordinates are Europeans also. There is nothing like that in Japan. Similarly, there is no anxiety on the part of the Chinese to rid themselves of the burden of the capitulations against which the Japanese have protested for a long time. It seems to the Chinese quite natural that foreign residents should be judged by foreign law, and there is no wish whatever to apply that territorial law to all who dwell within their territory. With us it is quite otherwise. At Tokio, for instance, we have no fewer than fourteen different consular courts, administering justice by means of treaties made in the times of ignorance before we fully understood the significance of the concession."

The possession of Hong Kong by the British is the outcome of a quarrel engendered by and made subservient to the commercial enterprise of the Western Powers. It must be added that China has no reason to be dissatisfied with the results of her bargain. Her foreign trade is constantly increasing, and its volume in 1886 was the greatest on record, showing a total of £41,150,000 in imports and exports combined. The Government, having had the foresight to secure its dues on the amount of exports, independent of price, gains in revenue even when the market is unfavourable to the exporters.

The popular tendency in China is unquestionably towards the adoption of many forms of **1887.** European civilization, though the people are in this respect

behind the Government of the country. The exclusiveness long practised by China has been to a great extent abandoned by the supreme authorities. They have shown this in theory by their general acceptance of international law. They show it in practice, amongst other ways, by endeavouring to prevent attacks on foreigners by the mob. Edicts have been framed against sedition, and indemnities are freely granted in the case of injury to foreign residents. The popular prejudice is becoming less acute, but it is still much stronger than that of the Government. In various other respects the rulers of China are far in advance of popular opinion. Their war against the opium trade, and the practical efforts of emperors and their councils to prevent the importation of the drug, at a considerable loss of revenue, have been in spite of the masses of the people, as well as against the resistance of Western civilization. The wealthy and ennobled classes, standing between the Government and the nation, are probably more responsible than any one for intolerant exclusiveness. They have constantly encouraged the mobs in their attacks on foreigners, and it was the rich Manchus of Peking who mainly fomented the grievance of the imperial family against France in the matter of the Catholic cathedral.

The popular demand for the denial of privileges to foreign residents, or at least for their restriction, is not to any great extent countenanced by the State. Nevertheless China has made several attempts to obtain from the Powers with which she has concluded treaties a relaxation of the provisions by which foreigners are tried in their own consular courts, by which land is conceded to them in certain ports, and which permit them in the same ports to maintain their own police. It is argued even by intelligent Chinese

that such privileges are against public policy, and that there is no reciprocity for their countrymen in the Western States. The principle of the argument is right; but it would be impossible for European Governments to submit their subjects to the handling of laws which in many respects are barbarous and inhumane.

There is in China a widespread tendency towards social and political reform, and a growing sentiment in favour of many of the customs, institutions, and enterprises of European and American nations. The assimilation of ideas, which in the first instance was the natural sequel of commercial exchange, has latterly developed with a steady acceleration; and as Great Britain accounts for about two-thirds of the external trade of China, so she takes the lead of all other nations in bringing the influences of western civilization to bear upon the most ancient civilization of the East.

“A Resident in Peking,” commenting upon a recent work of the Marquis Tseng, “The Sleep and the Awakening,” observes* that “there can be no two opinions as to the main objects of contemporary Chinese politics. China is determined to maintain her autonomic position and her prestige by the untold riches of her mines and the inexhaustible reserve of men who can be trained to fight. She is pursuing this course, as the Marquis says, with peaceful intentions. She cannot stop the foreign trade, and she would not do so if she could, because of the money it yields to increase the revenue. She will not part with the useful funds which help her to strengthen her forts and to drill her forces. The sum she gains is not in itself so very large, but it is to her at present indispensable, and all her

* *Contemporary Review*, July, 1887.

hope is now in foreign drill, in railways, in mines, to be worked in foreign ways; in science, to be studied with the help of foreign professors. She is in fact entering on the adoption of a foreign *régime* in these respects, just as certainly as Japan, but she takes a longer time to make the change."

It may be added that, however peaceful the intentions of China are at the present moment, she will be a most formidable enemy when her enormous resources are developed and organized. If her millions of armed men are ever called into the field against a foreign foe, it will probably be for the purpose of defence, not aggression. In that case she will have an incalculable advantage in the fact that her military system is based upon a vast scheme of colonization, which is filling the provinces of Manchuria, Mongolia, Thibet, and Chinese Turkestan with free settlers and convicts, all liable to military service, and all trained alike as soldiers and as agriculturists. Thus by one and the same plan hundreds of thousands of acres are being brought under cultivation, and tens of thousands of soldiers are prepared to fight the enemies of their country on their own homesteads.

Treaties. China has in the course of the past year given fresh evidence of her desire to enter into closer commercial relations with the great Powers. By a treaty concluded with France the Government undertook to admit produce from Tonquin, and to open to French traders four river ports on the southern frontier, with a discrimination of the customs tariff in favour of French goods.

A Convention was ratified in August, between China and Great Britain, in special reference to the questions of Upper Burmah and Thibet.

It consists of five articles, which are as follows :

Art. 1.—Inasmuch as it has been the practice of Burmah to send decennial missions to present articles of local produce, England agrees that the highest authority in Burmah shall send the customary decennial missions, the members of the missions to be of Burmese race.

Art. 2.—China agrees that, in all matters whatsoever appertaining to the authority and rule which England is now exercising in Burmah, England shall be free to do whatever she deems fit and proper.

Art. 3.—The frontier between Burmah and China to be marked by a Delimitation Commission, and the conditions of frontier trade to be settled by a Frontier Trade Convention, both countries agreeing to protect and encourage trade between China and Burmah.

Art. 4.—Inasmuch as inquiry into the circumstances by the Chinese Government has shown the existence of many obstacles to the mission to Thibet provided for in the separate article of the Chefoo Agreement, England consents to countermand the mission forthwith. With regard to the desire of the British Government to consider arrangements for frontier trade between India and Thibet, it will be the duty of the Chinese Government, after careful inquiry into the circumstances, to adopt measures to exhort and encourage the people with a view to the promotion and development of trade. Should it be practicable, the Chinese Government shall then proceed carefully to consider trade regulations ; but, if insuperable obstacles should be found to exist, the British Government will not press the matter unduly.

Art. 5.—The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as

possible after the date of the signatures thereof. In witness whereof the respective negotiators have signed the same and affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Certain remarkable arrangements for a Convention between the Chinese Government and a commercial syndicate in the United States were made public in the summer. The first statement was to the effect that concessions had been provisionally granted to the syndicate by the Viceroy, which would have implied almost the entire financial administration of the country. "The charter conferred upon the American capitalists endows them with the sole right to coin money. They are empowered to receive and to disburse the funds belonging to the Imperial and Provincial Treasuries. They are authorised to finance and to construct railways, telegraphs, canals, river improvements, and drainage systems. The syndicate will co-operate with the Chinese authorities in the erection of forts and camps, in the construction of fleets, in the building of naval arsenals, and in all other public works. They will take over the existing telegraphs, and theirs will be the exclusive right to maintain a system of telephonic communication in the Chinese Empire for fifty years." Subsequent information showed that Li Hung Chang's commercial ideas were in advance of those entertained by many of his colleagues in the Government. The Board of Censors reported to the Crown against the scheme, which was wholly or partially disallowed. Since then, however, an arrangement has been made with a German syndicate for the opening of a privileged bank in China.

COREA.

The Absolute Monarchy of Corea (capital, Seoul) occupies

a promontory on the east coast of Asia, north of China. Very little of an accurate character is known of the country ; but in the race, religions, and general institutions of its inhabitants it has much in common with China, and something with Japan.

The area is about 82,000 square miles ; population, estimated at about 10,000,000.

The monarch regards the Emperor of China as his suzerain, and he rules by a Council of Ministers removable at his pleasure. Three ports are open for commerce, at which about £150,000 is received in customs dues.

DENMARK.

The Constitutional Kingdom of Denmark (capital, Copenhagen) occupies an abrupt peninsula at the entrance to the Baltic Sea, the narrowest part of the entrance being the Sound (see p. 14), between the island of Zealand and the coast of Sweden. The only contiguous neighbour of Denmark is the Empire of Germany, on the south.

Norway was transferred from Denmark to Sweden after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars—Denmark receiving the province of Lauenburg and a money indemnity. Fifty years later, after a series of disorders in Lauenburg, Holstein, and Schleswig—owing to divergencies of language and customs, aggravated by the ineffective government of Denmark—the three provinces were assisted by Prussia and Austria to throw off the Danish yoke (1864), and were subsequently annexed by Prussia.

The actual promontory of Jutland has an area of about 9,750 square miles. The remainder consists of islands—Zealand, 2,600 square miles ; Fünen, 1250, Laaland, 462, Bornholm, 221, Falster, 178 ; and, at a greater distance,

the Faroe Islands and Iceland (40,526). Total, about 54,300 square miles.

Population, a little over 2,100,000; mainly Scandinavian. Average density, not including Iceland or Faroe Islands, about 145 to the square mile.

GOVERNMENT.

The Danish Constitution is a legacy of the revolutionary movement of 1849, but, like the Swiss and certain other written charters of that period, it did not actually come into force for some time afterwards. Another Constitution, differing in important respects, was drawn up by a Rigsraad of one Chamber in 1854, but was never effectively applied. After the extinction of the Oldenburg line, and the accession of Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein Sonderburg-Glücksburg, in 1863, followed by the transfer of the disaffected provinces to Prussia, the Rigsdag voted a revised form of the Constitution of 1849, which was promulgated in July, 1866.

This Constitution is analysed below, the more important clauses being quoted in full.

Article 1.—The form of government is that of a limited monarchy. The royal power is hereditary. Legislative power belongs to the King and the Rigsdag concurrently; Executive power to the King; Judicial power to the tribunals. The Lutheran Evangelical Church is the national Danish Church (Folkekirke*) and as such it is supported by the State.

Articles 2 and 3 define the rights and duties of the King and his ministers. "Before assuming the government, the King takes by writing, in the Council of State, an oath

* Not Statskirke, as in the draft of 1849.

to observe the Constitution. Two identical copies of this documentary oath are executed, one of which is conveyed to the Rigsdag, to be preserved in its archives, and the other is deposited in the archives of the nation.* . . . The King is invested with supreme authority over all the affairs of the kingdom, within the limits determined by this Constitution, and he exercises it through his ministers. He is irresponsible; his person is sacred and inviolable. The ministers are responsible for the conduct of the government; the extent of their responsibility to be hereafter determined by law.† The King appoints and removes his ministers. He fixes their number and the distribution of their duties. The royal signature at the foot of documents concerning legislation or government renders them valid when accompanied by the signature of one or more ministers. Every minister is responsible for the document which he has signed. Ministers may be charged in respect to their administration by the King or by the Folkething. The Rigsgret (High Court) tries the charges so brought against them."

The ministers form a Council of State (now including seven members) over which the King presides, and in which the heir to the throne may take his place when he has reached the age of eighteen. All important laws and administrative measures are discussed in the Council of State. The King appoints to all important public offices. He declares war and peace, forms and puts an end to alliances and commercial treaties; but he cannot without the con-

* Under the draft of 1849 a verbal oath before the Rigsdag, such as is prescribed in the Constitution of Belgium and Norway, was required. The distinction is perhaps more apparent than real.

† No such law has hitherto (1887) been passed.

sent of the Rigsdag contract any obligation affecting the existing conditions of the public law. "The King annually convokes the Rigsdag for its ordinary session. It cannot, without the consent of the King, remain in session for longer than two months. These arrangements may be modified by a law. The King may convoke the Rigsdag for extraordinary sessions, of which he will fix the duration. The King may prorogue the ordinary session of the Rigsdag for an assigned period, but not for longer than two months without the consent of the Rigsdag, nor more than once a year in the interval between two ordinary sessions. The King may dissolve the Rigsdag as a whole, or either of the two Chambers. In case of the dissolution of one Chamber the sittings of the other must be suspended until the next meeting of the Rigsdag. This meeting must take place within two months of the dissolution.

"The King may initiate Bills and resolutions in the Rigsdag. His consent is necessary to give the force of law to a resolution of the Rigsdag. The King orders the promulgation of the laws and sees to their execution. When a resolution of the Rigsdag has not been sanctioned by the King before the following session, it is considered as void. In specially urgent cases the King may, between the sessions of the Rigsdag, decree provisional laws, which nevertheless must not be contrary to the Constitution, and which must be brought before the Rigsdag in its next session.

"The King has the right of pardon and amnesty; he cannot absolve ministers from the penalties inflicted upon them by the Rigsret, save with the consent of the Folkething."

Articles 4 and 5 deal with the constitution of the Rigsdag, and its two Chambers, the Folkething and the Landsting.

Electors to the Folkething must be citizens of good repute,

thirty years of age, not in domestic service, not in receipt of or having received charitable relief, solvent, having for one year had a fixed domicile in the electoral district or town where he is residing at the time of the election. Candidates must be twenty-five years of age. The number of members in the Folkething must be at the rate of one for every 16,000 inhabitants. They are elected for three years, by single-member constituencies, and receive payment at the rate of about 6s. 9d. a day. The present number of members is 102; and of electors about 14 per cent. of the population.

The number of members of the Landsting is fixed by the Constitution at 66. Of these 12 are nominated by the King, 7 are elected by Copenhagen, 47 by electoral districts, urban and rural, 1 by Bornholm, and 1 by the Lagthing of Faroe. The electoral qualification is the same as for the Folkething. In Copenhagen the election is indirect, every 120 voters nominating an elector. To the electors thus nominated an equal number are added by citizens taxed on an income of not less than 2,000 rix-dollars (£224); and the whole body then selects the seven deputies. In the provinces an elector is chosen for each parish, rural as well as urban. To the town electors is then added an equal number chosen by citizens having half the qualification necessary in the capital, or paying not less than £8 8s. in taxes. From the body of electors thus created the Government distributes electors amongst the different towns, in proportion to the numbers of electors which they have furnished, on the occasion of every general election of the Landsting. In the rural districts, the parochial electors are increased by an equal number of persons who have paid the highest taxes to the State and to the commune. Candidates must have resided for one year in the electoral district. The life

members of the Landsting are chosen from amongst actual or former representatives.

The upper Chamber (except the life members) is renewed by halves every four years. Elections to this body are conducted on a proportional system determined by the electoral law.

The Rigsdag meets on the first Monday in October, unless earlier summoned by the King. It meets in the capital, unless the King for special reason convokes it elsewhere. Any one who menaces the safety and liberty of the Rigsdag, or gives or executes an order for that purpose, is guilty of high treason. Either Chamber may bring forward and adopt measures of legislation, or present addresses to the King, or name commissions of its members to study questions of general interest, which may demand oral or written explanations of the public authorities or of individuals.

The members of the Rigsdag are bound only by their convictions, and may not receive an imperative mandate from their electors. Persons holding office, if elected to the Rigsdag, do not require the permission of the Government in order to accept their election. No member may be arrested for debt, or incur responsibility for his opinions or utterances in the Chamber, without consent of the Chamber. Ministers have the right of entry and speech. The Chambers elect their own officers. They cannot take any resolution unless one half of their members are present and vote. The sittings are public; but the President, or a number of members to be fixed, may demand the exclusion of strangers; and a vote on that point is immediately taken. The Rigsdag when united (as on the disagreement of the Chambers in regard to Hills) selects a President, and deter-

mines the order of its proceedings, but it cannot proceed to vote unless half the members of each Chamber are present. The provision for Amendments is the same as in Belgium.

Denmark is divided into the five Districts of Jutland, Zealand, Bornholm, Lapland, and Fünen; and these are subdivided into 18 Amter. Local Administration.

The right of the communes freely to administer their own affairs, under the control of the Government, is laid down in the Constitution. The rights of free press, meeting, and association are insisted on; but it is laid down that the police have a right to be present at public meetings, and that open-air meetings may be forbidden when they threaten the public peace. An armed force may not intervene until the mob has been three times vainly summoned to disperse, in the name of the King and the law.

“The Rigsret is made up of members of the Supreme Court of the realm, and of an equal number of judges elected for four years by the Landsting from amongst its own members. When in special cases all the ordinary members of the Supreme Court cannot take part in the preliminary proceedings and trial, an equivalent number of the Landsting nominees retire, beginning with the last nominated, or by those who have received fewest votes. The Rigsret elects its President from amongst its members. . . . It tries charges brought by the King or the Folkething against the ministers. The King may also put other persons on their trial before the Rigsret, for crimes which he considers specially dangerous to the State, with the consent of the Folkething. The exercise of judicial authority can be regulated by the Judicial Administration.

law alone. . . . The tribunals are competent to take cognisance of all questions as to the limitation of the powers of public officers. . . . The judges in the exercise of their functions must be influenced solely by the law. They can be suspended only by virtue of a judicial decision, and removed only by their own consent, except in case of a reorganization of the courts. A judge who has completed his sixty-fifth year may be retired on full pay." The Constitution provides for public examination in criminal cases, and trial by jury ; but the laws contemplated for the establishment of these and other modes of procedure laid down in principle have not hitherto been introduced.

Education Education in Denmark is compulsory between and the ages of seven and fourteen, and the Con-
Religion. stitution provides that children whose parents cannot pay the fees shall be taught gratuitously in the public schools. The elementary schools are parochial, and the number of pupils is about one in eight of the population. There is a very small proportion of illiterates. The higher schools and the University of Copenhagen are also supported by the State, or endowed by the Church property appropriated in the sixteenth century.

Less than 1 per cent. of the population belongs to denominations other than the Lutheran ; but there is complete toleration.

Finance. The usual Parliamentary method of finance has been established. In place of the Exchequer, or Court of Accounts, each Chamber nominates two salaried Revisers, who check accounts and expenditure. Their reports are submitted to both Chambers ; but only the Folkething can initiate money Bills and supplementary credits.

The estimated Revenue for 1887-8 was £2,966,000, of which more than half was from Customs; and the Expenditure was £3,446,000. There is a reserve fund (rapidly diminishing) of about two millions sterling. Public debt, about £11,000,000.

DANISH DEPENDENCIES.

Iceland.

With an area of 40,000 square miles, Iceland (capital, Reikjavik) has a population of less than 75,000, mainly farmers and fishermen, without manufactures, and with very little municipal life. The island came to the Danish Crown with Norway, in 1880, and was not transferred when Norway passed to Sweden in 1814.

The ancient Assembly, or Althing, ceased to meet in 1720, and was formally abolished in 1800. In 1834, two deputies from Iceland and one from the Faroe Islands were nominated by the King to the Provincial Council of Laaland; but four years later a commission of ten was appointed to sit in Reikjavik, which in 1843 developed into an Althing of 20 elected deputies, with 6 nominated by the King. After sundry changes and long negotiation the present Constitution was established by a law of the Rigsdag in 1871, and a Constitutional Law was passed in 1874. The general principles of these documents are identical with those laid down in the Danish Constitution. The distinctive features are as follows:—

The Law of 1871 declares that “Iceland is an inseparable part of the Danish State, with special privileges. Whilst Iceland is not represented in the Rigsdag it will not share in the exercise of legislative power in regard to the general

affairs of the monarchy ; and, on the other hand, no contribution to the general needs of the monarchy will be required from it. The special affairs of Iceland are (1) Civil and penal law, and the administration of civil and criminal justice. Nevertheless the Supreme Court may not be organized as one of final appeal for Icelandic litigation without the concurrence of the general legislative authority of the monarchy. (2) Police. (3) Public worship and instruction. (4) Medical and sanitary administration. (5) Communal institutions and public aids. (6) Roads and local posts. (7) Agriculture, fisheries, commerce, navigation, and all other industries. (8) Direct and indirect contributions. (9) The public property, establishments, and funds.

The expenses of the Althing, and of the local administration indicated above, with official pensions, are to be regarded as special expenditure, and to cover this the national Treasury will furnish an annual subvention of 30,000 rix-dollars, or £3,360, in addition to an extraordinary subvention of £224,000 for ten years, and £112,000 for the following twenty years, when the extraordinary subvention will cease. The cost of the Danish administration in Copenhagen is borne by Denmark.

There is a Minister for Iceland in the Danish State Council, and a local Governor appointed by the King, who also appoints the other public officers. The Althing has now 30 elected members and 6 nominated. It is renewed every six years, and the electors are the taxpayers over a certain limit. The six nominated members, and six others selected by the whole Althing from the elected members, sit in a separate Chamber.

The actual condition of politics in Denmark aptly shows how much more is necessary to the smooth working of representative methods of government than a mere written Constitution. For something like twenty years an increasingly powerful party has demanded that the ministers of the King shall be responsible to the representatives of the people, and that the confidence of the most representative Chamber shall be deemed necessary to the Cabinet. Ministerial responsibility is in general terms affirmed by the Constitution, but it is not defined, and the dispute as to its proper limits has been continued without intermission down to the present day. On October 19, 1887, the Folkething rejected the budget by a majority of 68 to 25, and the Rigsdag was thereupon adjourned, in order that the Government might "place the administration of public business on a new legal basis." On the following day a royal rescript authorized the Government to collect the taxes during the coming financial year, to defray the necessary expenditure; and the Rigsdag was prorogued. The action of the Crown on this occasion seems to have been based on the 25th clause of the Constitution, which declares that "in specially urgent cases the King may, *in the interval between two sessions of the Rigsdag*, decree provisional laws, which nevertheless must not be contrary to the Constitution." It is questionable whether this clause can be fairly said to cover the rescript, and especially questionable whether the right of the Crown extends to financial laws; but the same course has been pursued on former occasions, and the Folkething has no means of bringing the nominally responsible ministers to account. It has impeached them before the Rigsret, as the Constitution provides; but they have been acquitted.

It is evident that responsible government—parliamentary government in the ordinary sense of the term—is suspended in Denmark. After each dissolution in recent years there has been a considerable majority in the Folkething against the King's ministers. The latter have refused to resign so long as there is a majority in their favour in the Landsting, contending that the Constitution does not require that they should do so. Amongst the incidents of the struggle are the refusal to pay taxes on one side, and, on the other, suspension of the freedom of the press and the right of public meeting. Nevertheless the King and the royal family seem to be personally popular with the nation at large.

There are three political parties in Denmark—(1) the Right, or Government party; (2) the Danish or Moderate Left party, representing the cottars and peasant proprietors, who form nearly half the population of the country; and (3) the European or Radical Left, which has its main strength in the towns. It is the union of the two Lefts which has hitherto placed the Cabinet in a minority. One of the most prominent difficulties of the present situation arises out of the question of national defence. The Government wishes to surround Copenhagen with fortifications, and for this and other kindred purposes to raise a large revenue; but the united Lefts maintain that it is impossible to provide an effective defence, that guarantees and treaties would give greater security than the expenditure of millions of money, and that to make Copenhagen impregnable would only excite the cupidity of the Great Powers.

But a still more important and comprehensive question is that which concerns the social condition of the people,

and the mode of dealing with popular indigence. In Denmark, as in some other countries, and especially in Germany, the advocates of Socialism are not to be looked for mainly in the ranks of the Radicals. Hitherto, indeed, the Government party has shown itself most disposed to take a new departure in the sense of State assistance for the poor. A Bill was introduced by the Ministry some time ago having for its object the establishment of a State annuity office for working men, in which grants from the Treasury were to supplement the very modest savings of artizans. Nothing definite has yet been accomplished in this direction, but public opinion in Denmark is prepared for a system of national aids on the German model.

The Schleswig question is still regarded as unsettled. There is a considerable population of Danes in the northern zone of the territory transferred to Prussia in 1867, and the demand for retrocession is heard on both sides of the frontier.

GERMANY.

The federal Empire of Germany (capital, Berlin) occupies the north-centre of Europe. It is bounded on the west by the Republic of France, the neutralized territory of Luxemburg, the Kingdom of Belgium, and the Kingdom of Holland; on the north by some 350 miles of the North Sea coast, by the Kingdom of Denmark, and by 850 miles of the Baltic; on the east by the Empires of Russia and Austria; and on the south by Austria and the Republic of Switzerland.

The frontiers of Germany have varied in past times more than those of any other country; and apart from this fact the definition of the terms "Germany" and "German

Emperor" has been different in different ages. The Kaiser has not always been, though he may have claimed to be, Emperor of all the Germans; and the title has been successively held by the families or reigning houses of Charlemagne, Franconia, Saxony, Hohenstaufen, Habsburg, Nassau, Bavaria, Habsburg-Lorraine, and Prussia (Hohenzollern). There was practically no assumption of the title between the catastrophe of 1806 and the coronation of the King of Prussia in 1870.

Before the outbreak of the French revolutionary wars, the German Confederation, under the hegemony of Austria, was politically divided into ten "circles," which may be roughly described as those of Austria, Burgundy, Westphalia, the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, Suabia, Bavaria, Franconia, Lower Saxony, and Upper Saxony; outside of which lay the kingdom of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and a few minor districts and free towns. Each circle was governed by a Diet; and for common purposes the Kaiser was empowered to summon an imperial Diet, composed of the college of electors, about a hundred prelates, princes, and nobles, and the deputies of 54 free cities. The Kaiser was elected by the college above mentioned—that is to say, the archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, the Duke of Saxony, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia. There were subsequently added the Duke of Bavaria, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Count of Hanover, and the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneberg.

The old In 1815 a new Confederation (*Deutsche Bund*)
Constitu- was created by "the sovereign and free cities of
tion. Germany, including their Majesties the Emperor
 of Austria and the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, and the

Netherlands; the Emperor and King of Prussia for the whole of their territories, formerly belonging to the German Empire; the King of Denmark for Holstein; and the King of the Netherlands for Luxemburg."

The effect of certain clauses of the Act of Confederation, which is in some respects the basis of the present constitution, may be mentioned here. The members of the Confederation, as such, had equal rights. They were represented in committee of the Diet by seventeen plenipotentiaries, according to the order of precedence mentioned below, Austria having the right of presiding. Proposals of legislation were to be submitted to the committee, and subsequently to the *plenum*, where the total of votes was 65; a simple majority sufficing in committee, and two-thirds in the full Assembly. "When war has been declared by the Confederation, no member of the Confederation can enter into separate negotiations with the enemy; nor can separate truces or treaties of peace be concluded by individual members. The members of the league reserve to themselves the right of making alliances of every kind, but bind themselves not to enter into any which could be prejudicial to the security of the Confederation, or of any of its members. The members further bind themselves under no pretence to declare war against one another, nor to pursue their mutual differences by force of arms, but engage to submit them to the Diet. The Diet is, in such cases, competent to attempt a reconciliation, by the appointment of a select committee; and should this not prove successful, to procure a decision from a well-organized court of arbitration, whose sentence is implicitly binding upon the disputing parties." The Act further provided for a Constitution in each State based on territorial representation (*Landständische Verfassung*).

The States In the following table the first two columns of before and figures show the representative strength of the after 1871. States of the old Confederation. The names of the States are in the order of precedence assigned to their representatives in the old Diet. The last two columns of figures show the number of members assigned to each State in the present Bundesrath and Reichstag, according to the Constitution of 1871.

Com- mittee of Diet.	Ple- num.	States of the Confederation 1815-67.	Bundes- rath, 1871.	Reich- stag, 1871.
1	4	Empire of Austria... .. [excluded 1867]	—	—
1	4	Kingdom of Prussia [now includes Hanover, Nassau, [Holstein, &c.]	17	25
1	4	Kingdom of Bavaria	6	4
1	4	" Saxony	4	23
1	4	" Hanover [see Prussia]	—	—
1	4	" Würtemberg	4	17
1	8	Grand Duchy of Baden	3	11
1	8	Electorate of Hesse-Cassel [in Prussia]	—	—
1	8	Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt	3	9
1	8	Duchy of Holstein and Lauenburg [in Prussia]	—	—
1	8	Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and Limburg .. [neutralized]	—	—
5	2	Duchy of Brunswick	2	3
5	2	Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin	2	6
5	2	Duchy of Nassau [in Prussia]	—	—
25	1	Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar	1	3
25	1	Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen	1	2
25	1	" Saxe-Altenburg	1	1
25	1	" Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1	2
5	1	Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1	1
25	1	" Oldenburg	1	3
25	1	Duchy of Anhalt	1	2
25	1	Principality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	1	1
25	1	" Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	1	1
1	1	" Liechtenstein [see Austria]	—	—
1	1	" Waldeck	1	1
1	1	" Reuss-Greiz	1	1
1	1	" Reuss-Schleiz	1	1
1	1	" Schaumburg-Lippe	1	1
1	1	" Lippe-Detmold	1	1
1	1	Landgraviate of Hesse-Homburg [see Grand Duchy of [Hesse]	—	—
1	1	Free City of Lübeck	1	1
1	1	" Frankfurt [inc. in Prussia]	—	—
1	1	" Bremen	1	1
1	1	" Hamburg	1	3
		.. .. . [Reichsland, Alsace-Lorraine]	4	15
17	65	[Thirty-four States]	63	37
			[Twenty-six States]	

The representation of the States in the Bundesrath and Reichstag is approximately proportional to population, as

will hereafter be explained. The area of the Empire, with the population in 1885, is as follows :—

States.	Sq. miles.	Population.	Capitals.
Prussia	137,066	28,318,453	Berlin.
Bavaria	29,375	5,416,180	München (Munich).
Württemberg	7,530	1,995,168	Stuttgart.
Saxony	5,795	3,182,003	Dresden.
Baden	5,824	1,600,839	Carlsruhe.
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	4,834	575,140	Schwerin.
Hesse	2,965	956,566	Darmstadt.
Oldenburg	2,417	341,525	Oldenburg.
Brunswick	1,526	372,388	Braunschweig.
Saxe-Weimar	1,421	313,946	Weimar.
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1,130	98,371	Neu Strelitz.
Saxe-Meiningen	933	214,697	Meiningen.
Anhalt	869	247,603	Dessau.
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	816	198,829	Coburg; Gotha.
Saxe-Altenburg	509	161,460	Altenburg.
Waldeck	466	56,565	Arolsen.
Lippe-Detmold	445	123,250	Detmold.
Schwarz-Rudolstadt	340	83,836	Rudolstadt.
Schwarz-Sondershausen	318	73,606	Sondershausen.
Reuss-Schleiz	297	112,118	Gera.
Schaumburg-Lippe	212	37,204	Bückeburg.
Reuss-Greiz	148	55,904	Greiz.
Hamburg	158	518,620	
Lübeck	124	67,658	
Bremen	98	166,392	
Alsace-Lorraine	5,580	1,564,351	Strassburg, Mülhausen, Metz.
Area and Pop. of Empire	211,149	46,852,680	

Average in 1885, 221 to the square mile.

It is estimated that there are in Prussia about 2,454,000 Poles, 2,800,000 French and Walloons, 150,000 Lithuanians, and 140,000 Danes. Several millions of Germans have emigrated out of Europe, the vast majority to the United States. The tide of emigration reached its height in 1881, when the number of departures from German ports was 210,547. It has since fallen to less than half.

**State
Constitu-
tions.** The principles laid down in the Act of Con-
federation in 1815 were never thoroughly carried
out. The Diet, indeed, met, and the Committee
sat in permanence at Frankfurt-am-Main. After a brief
experiment of a constituent assembly, during the revolution
of 1848, the older body resumed its sittings; but it was not
an effective organization, and it was broken up at last by
the rivalry of Prussia and Austria. The latter country
proposed a re-constitution in 1863, which was accepted by
the Diet, but rejected by Prussia. Three years later, after
the war in Denmark and the assertion of Prussian authority
in the administration of Holstein, Austria carried a resolu-
tion in the Diet calling upon Prussia to disarm. There-
upon Prussia withdrew from the Diet, and declared the
Confederation dissolved, and the result of the war of 1866
was to exclude Austria from the German Bund.

In the meantime the guarantee of Constitutions to the
several States was either ignored or redeemed in a very
illusory fashion. Prussia and Austria made no attempt to
comply with the federative Act, until the first-named was
put under constraint in 1848. *Nassau* in 1814 organized
a constitutional despotism, the Duke reserving power to
nominate members of the second Chamber whenever he
wanted a majority, and that failed. The *Netherlands* (which
see) set up two Chambers in 1815, but the Dutch were
treated with undue partiality; and that failed. *Waldeck*,
Frankfurt, and *Weimar*, received charters in 1816, and the
last of these still survives in a modified form. There is a
single Chamber of 31 members—one representing the nobles,
four representing landowners having an income not less
than 3,000 marks (£150); five chosen by merchants and
others with an equivalent income; and twenty-one in-

directly by the taxpayers. The House meets once in three years, and votes supplies for that period ; and the Executive, including ministers of three departments, is presided over by the Grand Duke, but responsible to the Chamber.

In 1818 the King of *Bavaria* granted a Constitution. There were two Chambers ; the first act of the lower House was immediately vetoed by the upper ; the more popular Chamber refused supplies for a large army unless the soldiers were required to take an oath to support the Constitution ; and it was forthwith dissolved. Nevertheless the Constitution of 1818, slightly modified, still survives. Executive power is vested in the King—or at present the Regent—who has a Council of six responsible ministers. The House of *Reichsräthe*, or Councillors of the Realm, includes the royal princes, several official members, the archbishops, one Roman Catholic bishop and one Protestant clergyman nominated by the King, and a complement of nobles sitting by hereditary title. The House of Representatives has 159 members—one for every 31,500 voters, chosen by about 10,830 electors—one for every 500 of the population. Members must be over 30 years of age, in receipt of a fixed income ; and voters must be 25 years of age, rated at not less than 20 marks (£1) per annum. In addition to the responsible ministry already mentioned, there is a *Staatsrath* nominated by the King, and including fourteen members.

Baden received a Constitution in 1818, and here also the first Parliament was speedily dissolved, because the popular House demanded the abrogation of a neutralizing contract entered into between the Grand Duke and the nobles. At present the upper House includes princes of the reigning family, the heads of the mediatised families, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Freiburg, and the president of the

Lutheran Church, eight members nominated by the Grand Duke, two by the Universities, and eight chosen by the nobles. The lower House has 68 members, indirectly elected by universal suffrage, 22 by the large towns and the remainder by the rural districts. Elections are held every four years, and the Chambers must meet at least twice within that period. The executive power is nominally in the hands of the Grand Duke, but the four departmental ministers are responsible to the Legislature.

In the same year, 1818, Liechtenstein, with its two square miles and its five thousand souls was endowed with a Constitution, apparently through the scrupulous regard of its rulers for the Act of Confederation. The enemies of the Liberal movement professed to regard this Lilliputian charter as the *reductio ad absurdum* of the new ideas. Liechtenstein is now on Austrian territory, and is content with its immunity from imperial taxation.

In 1819 *Hanover* (now included in Prussia) set up two Chambers, nominally on the Parliamentary system, but leaving all power in the hands of the Court and the nobility. The sittings were held in secret, and the public were little concerned by them. In the same year *Lippe-Detmold* received a nominal charter, afterwards revoked, and to this day the State government has not assumed a liberal character. The Prince is assisted in his executive functions by one minister, who is not responsible to the Diet. On the other hand two-thirds of the Chamber are popularly elected, the other third representing the landowners. Its debates are not published; and perhaps in this case publicity is more to be desired by the Court than by the people, for the Diet is decidedly parsimonious in the granting of supplies.

In 1820 the two Grand Dukes of *Mecklenburg* abolished feudal servitude, which had found in this niche its last German refuge. But otherwise the feudal character of the government remains. There is a common Diet of the two Grand Duchies, which meets every two years. The right of admission to this body is possessed by landowners of *Rittergüter* (knights' fees), numbering about 620 in *Mecklenburg-Schwerin*, and 62 in the *Stargard* province of *Mecklenburg-Strelitz*—the other province not possessing this privilege. With them are associated 40 burgomasters from the principal towns. When the Diet is not in session there is a permanent committee of twelve, controlled by three hereditary marshals. Four executive ministers in *Schwerin* and one in *Strelitz* are responsible to the Grand Dukes.

The Grand Duke of *Hesse Darmstadt* convoked two Chambers, on the model of those in *Baden*. The lower House, elected every six years, now includes 50 members—ten from the great towns, and the remainder from small towns and rural districts. It meets every third year; the executive power is in the hands of the Grand Duke and a ministry of three, nominally responsible to the Chambers.

Constitutions of a kind were granted to *Coburg*, to *Gotha-Altenburg*, to *Hildburghausen*, and to *Meiningen*. The *Gotha-Altenburg* branch of the house of Saxony became extinct in 1825, when a new arrangement of territory resulted in the formation of the present *Saxe-Coburg-Gotha*, *Saxe-Altenburg*, and *Saxe-Meiningen*—the latter including *Hildburghausen* and *Saalfeld*.

The present Constitution of *Saxe-Coburg-Gotha* rests on an enactment of 1852. There are Chambers for *Coburg* and for *Gotha*, which meet separately every year, and collectively

every second year, alternately in Coburg and in Gotha. The first contains 11 members, deputing seven to the United Parliament; and the Gotha Chamber contains 19 members, deputing fourteen. Elections are held every four years, by indirect universal vote. The Duke has his executive Council of Ministers, and an exceptionally large income and civil list.

Saxe-Altenburg has a single Chamber, which is elected for six years, and meets every third year. Nine members are chosen by the landowners, nine by the large towns, and twelve by the rural districts. The civil list of the Duke is about one-fifth of the State revenues.

Saxe-Meiningen received its first Constitution in 1829. As since modified, this document coincides with the charter of Saxe-Altenburg, except that eight members of the Meiningen Chamber are elected by the wealthiest landowners, and sixteen by the citizens at large.

Württemberg had an ancient Constitution, which had been suppressed by the Crown. In 1815-7 the people, supported by many of the nobles, took a high tone, and rejected the King's first and second offers of a new charter, but in 1819 a third draft was accepted. The old Permanent Committee was retained, in spite of the creation of a nominally responsible Executive Council of six ministers. The Diet consists of two Houses, the *Herrenhaus* being hereditary, with power to the King to nominate life-members. The lower House contains 96 members, of whom 70 are elected every six years by ballot of all taxpaying citizens. There is no property qualification, but candidates must be thirty years of age. The minor nobility select thirteen representatives; the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches elect six each; and the Chancellor of Tübingen University makes

up the total. The Permanent Committee, consisting of the Presidents of the Chambers (nominated by the King), two members of the Herrenhaus, and eight of the Abgeordnetenhaus, sit when the Diet is not in session, a provision which has been complained of for the last seventy years as tending to perpetuate an oligarchical bureaucracy. The Constitution, however, provides what some regard as a make-weight against the Permanent Committee in the shape of a supreme court, the Staats-gerichtshof, sworn to maintain the Constitution and the rights of the Diet. Six members are elected by the combined Chambers, and the remaining six, with the President, by the King.*

Another crop of constitutions and constitutional changes sprang up after the upheaval of 1830.

Saxony gained its Constitution in 1831, and has revised it in 1849 and on several subsequent occasions. The King is aided in his executive functions by a responsible ministry, and he has a joint power of legislative initiation with the two Chambers. The upper House is on a common German model; it includes the royal princes who have attained their majority, five heads of mediatised families, twelve deputies of the minor nobles, fifteen life-members nominated by the King, eight burgomasters, five ecclesiastical and collegiate presidents. For the lower House there is no qualification. Thirty-five deputies are elected by the towns and 45 by the rural districts; electors must be 25 years of age, and must pay a direct tax. In Saxony the members of both Houses receive 12s. daily during the session.

The Constitution of *Brunswick* was granted in 1832, and

* For further details of the Constitutions arising out of the Federative Act, see Menzel's "History of Germany," c. 265, or Marguardsen's uncompleted but very valuable work.

revised in 1851. There is one Chamber of 46 members—twenty-one representing the landowners, three being chosen by the Protestant clergy, ten by the towns, and twelve by the rural districts. The deputies are elected for six years, and meet twice in that period.

The Grand Duke of *Oldenburg* granted a Constitution in 1849, which was revised in 1852. There is a Diet of 33 members, renewed every three years by indirect election. The sovereign is assisted in his executive functions by a council of departmental ministers. Constitutions similar to that of Lippe-Detmold, though differing in minor details, were obtained by *Anhalt* in 1859, by *Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt* in 1854, by *Schwarzburg-Sondershausen* in 1857, by *Reuss-Schleiz* in 1849, by *Schaumburg-Lippe* in 1868, and by *Reuss-Greiz* in 1867.

<p>The Prussian Constitu- tion.</p>	<p>Prussia was one of the last of the German States to secure a liberal Constitution. The original grant of central representative institutions was in 1850, but the fundamental laws have been revised on various subsequent occasions, both before and since the adoption of the federal Constitution for Germany as a whole.</p>
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The King of Prussia, as head of the Executive, appoints his Council of State, which includes the President of the Council (now also Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister of Commerce, and Chancellor of the Empire—also, as such, President of the Bundesrath), the Vice-President and Minister of the Interior, the Secretary of State for the Interior, the Ministers of War, Public Works, Agriculture, Justice, Public Worship, and Finance. The ministers are severally and jointly responsible to and removable by the King.

The civil list of the Emperor-King is £225,000; but he has also large private domains.

The Herrenhaus, or House of Lords, includes royal princes of full age, mediatised princes (16), nobles (about 50), life peers, being distinguished personages raised to the upper House by the King, eight elected peers to represent the landowners of the provinces, representatives of the universities, cathedral chapters, and burgomasters of the largest towns, with other nominees of the Crown, not necessarily for life.

The Abgeordneten, or representative House, now contains 432 members, being approximately in the ratio of one for every 66,000 of the population. The representation is indirect. The voters in the municipalities who have attained the age of twenty-five are entitled to vote for the Wahlmänner (electors), to the number of one wahlmann for every 250 inhabitants. There is a somewhat elaborate system for the organization of constituencies. Candidates must be thirty years of age, taxpayers during three years, and not convicted of an offence the punishment whereof would deprive them of civil rights. A general election is held every three years, and a dissolution must be followed by a new election within six months.

The two Houses are usually convoked in November, and they must on all occasions sit simultaneously. The rights and duties of the Abgeordnetenhaus, and its relations to the Herrenhaus, resemble somewhat closely those laid down in the federal Constitution for the corresponding federal Chambers (see below). Both Houses verify the elections of their members, and elect their own Presidents and officers. Public functionaries have the right of entry into the lower House. Acceptance of office necessitates

re-election. The sittings of both Houses are public, but the members may by vote resolve to sit privately. In short, *mutatis mutandis*, Articles 21–31 of the Constitution quoted below may be taken as referring to the Prussian Chambers.

Members of the lower Chamber are paid during session at the rate of £1 a day, and no member is permitted to decline this payment.

Federal An elaborate Constitution for the North
Con- German Confederation was agreed to in 1867,
stitution. after the expulsion of Austria, by all the States except Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, and was extended and adopted for the empire as a whole in 1871. The document is one of so much importance, being amongst the most recent and the best-considered of federal and monarchical Constitutions, that it may be analysed at some length from the original version.

Article 1 contains a list of the federal States.

Article 2. Within these territories the Confederation has the right to legislate within the limits fixed by this Constitution, and the federal laws take precedence of the special laws of each State.

Article 3 establishes the equal rights of citizens in all the federal States, and a common citizenship, independent of the State of origin.

Article 4 defines the subjects assigned to the Bundesrath and Reichstag for supervision and legislation.

(1) Measures relating to change of residence, domicile, rights of citizenship, passports, the supervision of foreigners, industrial questions, including insurance, so far as these subjects are not provided for in Article 3, and all measures relating to colonization and settlement in non-German countries ;

(2) Legislation relating to customs, commerce, and taxation for federal purposes ;

(3) The regulation of a system of weights and measures and money ; and the determination of the principles on which paper money may be issued ;

(4-6) General banking laws ; patents ; the protection of intellectual property ;

(7) The organization of a common protection for the foreign trade of Germany, of German navigation and the German flag, and the creation of a common consular representation, maintained by the Confederation ;

(8) Railways, roads, and waterways, with a view to national defence and intercommunication ;

(9) Traffic on the navigable waters common to several States, and the condition of these waters ; with the tolls levied on these streams, and other laws of navigation ;

(10) Posts and telegraphs ;

(11) Measures relating to the enforcement of judicial decisions in one State on behalf of another ;

(12) And to the legislation of public documents in particular States ;

(13) Common legislation on contracts, the punishment of crime, commercial law and letters of exchange, and civil procedure ;

(14) Military and naval affairs of the Confederation ;

(15) Measures of public health.

Article 5. The agreement of the majorities in the Bundesrath and the Reichstag is necessary and sufficient in regard to a federal law. When a disagreement arises in the Bundesrath on measures relating to military and naval organization, the vote of the President must take effect when it is given in favour of maintaining existing institutions.

The Bundes- Article 6. Distribution of votes in the Bundes-
rath. rath (see p. 436) ; Prussia having 17 votes out of 43—subsequently, 17 out of sixty-two.

Article 7. Each State may nominate as many members of the Bundesrath as it is entitled to votes, but the votes must be collectively given. Members not present, or being without instructions, are not taken into account. Every member may make proposals and submit them for discussion, and the President is obliged to bring them forward. Resolutions are taken by simple majority. In case of an equality of votes, that of the President decides.

Article 8. The Bundesrath when in session nominates permanent Committees (1) for the army and fortifications, (2) for the navy, (3) for customs and taxation, (4) for commerce and general relations, (5) for railways, posts, and telegraphs, (6) for justice, (7) for finance. On each of these Committees two States at the least must be represented, exclusive of the President ; and no State may have more than one vote. The members of the first two Committees are named by the federal commander-in-chief ; those of the others by the Bundesrath. The constitution of the Committees must be renewed for each session of the Bundesrath, that is to say, annually. Members are re-eligible.

Article 9. Every member of the Bundesrath may take his seat in the Reichstag, and may claim to speak in support of the views of his Government, even when they have not been adopted by the majority of the Bundesrath. No one may be at the same time a member of the Bundesrath and the Reichstag.

Article 10. The head of the Confederation must guarantee the immunity of each member of the Bundesrath.

Article 11. The supreme authority of the **Supreme Confederation** belongs to the Crown of Prussia, **Authority.** which in this capacity has the right of representing the Confederation in its international relations, of declaring war and concluding peace in the name of the Confederation, of concluding alliances and other treaties with foreign States, of accrediting and receiving diplomatic representatives. In so far as treaties with foreign Powers relate to subjects which, according to Article 4, belong to the domain of federal legislation, the assent of the Bundesrath is necessary to their conclusion, and the assent of the Reichstag is necessary to their validity.

Article 12. The head of the Confederation convokes the Bundesrath and Reichstag, opens their proceedings, prorogues and dissolves them.

Article 13. The Bundesrath and Reichstag meet annually, and the Bundesrath may be convoked without the Reichstag; but the latter may not be convoked without the Bundesrath.

Article 14. The Bundesrath must be convoked whenever it is demanded by one-third of the total of votes. The federal Chancellor (Reichskanzler) may be represented in the direction of affairs by any other member of the Bundesrath, by a procuration in writing.

Article 15. The presidency of the Bundesrath belongs to the federal Chancellor, who is appointed by the head of the Confederation.

Article 16. The head of the Confederation will bring forward the necessary resolutions, in accordance with the resolutions of the Bundesrath, in the Reichstag, where they will be supported by members of the Bundesrath, or by special members nominated by the Bundesrath.

Article 17. The head of the Confederation formulates and promulgates the federal laws, and sees to their execution. The measures intended for this purpose are taken in the name of the Confederation, and in order to be valid they must be countersigned by the Chancellor, who is responsible for them.

Article 18. The head of the Confederation will nominate the officers of the Confederation, will receive their oath on behalf of the Confederation, and will if necessary remove them.

Article 19. If the States of the Confederation do not carry out their federal duties as laid down in the Constitution, they may be compelled thereto. This compulsion (a) in case of military engagements, and when there is danger in the delay, must be ordered and carried out by the federal commander-in-chief; and (b) in all other cases it must be decreed by the commander-in-chief. The compulsion may extend to the sequestration of the country concerned, and of its government. In the case provided under (a) the Bundesrath must be immediately informed of the execution which has been ordered, together with the reasons therefor.

The Article 20. The Reichstag is constituted by Reichstag. universal and direct election.

Article 21. Ministers have the right of entry in the Reichstag. If a member of the Reichstag accepts in the Confederation or in one of the federal States a public appointment with emolument, or is promoted in the Confederation or in a federal State to an office of higher rank or value, he loses his seat in the Reichstag, and can only regain it by a new election.

Article 22. The debates of the Reichstag are public.

Accurate reports of the debates in public sittings of the Reichstag are privileged.

Article 23. The Reichstag has the right to initiate measures within the limits of the Constitution, and to forward to the Bundesrath or to the Chancellor petitions addressed to it.

Article 24. The legislative term of the Reichstag is three years. A resolution of the Bundesrath, passed with the consent of the President, is necessary to a dissolution of the Reichstag during this term.

Article 25. On the dissolution of the Reichstag the electors must be called together within sixty days, and the new Reichstag must be convoked within ninety days after the dissolution.

Article 26. The Reichstag cannot be prorogued for more than thirty days, and the prorogation cannot be repeated in the same session without its assent.

Article 27. The Reichstag verifies the powers of its members, and its decision thereon is final. It regulates the order of its proceedings and its discipline by a list of rules. It elects its President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries.

Article 28. The Reichstag takes its votes by absolute majority. Before a resolution can be effective, a majority of the lawful number of members must be present.

Article 29. The members of the Reichstag represent the whole people, and may not be held bound by mandates or instructions.

Article 30. No member of the Reichstag can at any time be proceeded against by law or otherwise for his votes, or for a speech uttered in the discharge of his functions, and cannot be made responsible in any manner outside the House.

Article 31. During the continuance of the session, no member of the Reichstag may, without its consent, be prosecuted or arrested for an act punishable by law, unless he has been taken in the act, or on the morrow of the day when the act was committed. The same consent is necessary for an arrest for debt. On the demand of the Reichstag, any criminal procedure against one of its members, and any civil or precautionary arrest, is suspended during the continuance of the session.

Article 32. The members of the Reichstag cannot, as such, receive any salary or compensation.

Customs Article 33. The Confederation constitutes a
and single territory for customs and commerce, sur-
Commerce. rounded by a common customs frontier.*

Article 34. The Hanseatic towns of Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, with a district corresponding to their actual territory, continue to be free ports, outside the common customs frontier, until such time as they may demand to come within it.

Article 35. To the Confederation belongs exclusively the right of legislation on all matters relating to customs, on the duties on home-grown sugar, brandy, salt, beer, and tobacco. . . .

Article 37. The Bundesrath decides on (i.) all legislative proposals falling under the terms of Article 33, which have to be submitted to the Reichstag or adopted thereby, including treaties of commerce and navigation; (ii.) the regulations and administrative arrangements for the execution of common legislative acts (Article 35); (iii.) defects in the carrying out of the said common

* This section of the Constitution replaces or modifies the previously existing organization of the Zollverein. (See p. 459).

legislation ; (iv.) the determination of the contributions, as suggested by its financial agents, which are to be paid into the federal treasury. . . .

Article 39. Quarterly and annual accounts are to be made up and submitted, after verification, to the Finance Committee of the Bundesrath. On the basis of these returns the Committee will fix every three months the sum due to the federal treasury from the treasury of each State, and will communicate the amount to the Bundesrath and to the States ; and it will annually present its budget of accounts for the decision of the Bundesrath.

Articles 41 to 68 are concerned with Railways, Posts, Marine, Consulates, and federal Military organization, the object being to bring the systems of the various States into harmony and unison.

Article 69. The revenue and expenditure of the Confederation are to be estimated in advance, **Finance.** and set down in the annual federal budget, which is to be authorized by an Act previous to the commencement of the financial year.

Article 70. In order to meet the common expenditure, recourse is to be had to the surplus, if any, of the preceding year, to the common customs revenue, to the indirect taxes, and to the revenue from posts and telegraphs. If these receipts are not sufficient to cover the expenditure, the several States are to provide—so far as federal taxes may not have been imposed—contributions in proportion to their population. These contributions will be fixed by federal legislation, and their collection will be ordered by the head of the Confederation, up to the amount fixed in the budget.

Article 71. New expenditures are agreed to in ordinary course for one year, but they may be agreed to in special cases

for several years. In case of extraordinary need, a loan or guarantee on behalf of the Confederation may be contracted by a federal law.

Article 72. The head of the Confederation will annually render account to the Reichstag and Bundesrath of the disposition of all receipts.

Litigation and Penal Regulations. Article 73. Every attack upon the existence, integrity, safety, or constitution of the Confederation, and offences against the Bundesrath, the Reichstag, or a member of either body, or against an authority or public officer of the Confederation in the exercise of their functions, or in respect of their functions, by speech, writing, printed matter, emblems, illustration by picture or otherwise, will be tried in the several federal States, and punished according to the laws actually existing or hereafter to be passed in these States, for the punishment of acts directed against the State, its Constitution, its Chambers, the members of these Chambers, its authorities, and public officers.

Article 74. For such attacks upon the Confederation as would constitute high treason if directed against a particular State, the competent tribunal will be the Common High Court of Appeal of the three Hanseatic free towns, at Lübeck, of first and second instance. [A Federal High Court to be established by law.]

Article 75. Litigation between several States, in so far as they do not concern private rights, and are not thereby within the competence of ordinary tribunals, will be adjudged by the Bundesrath, on the demand of one of the parties. Disputes concerning the Constitution, in federal States where there is no authority competent to decide such disputes, must be amicably adjusted by the Bundes-

rath, on the demand of one or other of the parties, and if this cannot be effected, they must be determined by means of federal legislation.

Article 76. If in a federal State there should arise the case of a denial of justice, and no adequate remedy can be obtained at law, the Bundesrath is bound to hear the complaints in regard to the denial of justice, respect being had to the laws existing in the State concerned, and to see that the federal Government which has given rise to the complaint shall call in the assistance of the courts.

Changes in the Constitution are to be effected **Amend-**
by acts of the Assembly; but such modifications **ments.**
must receive in the Bundesrath the support of a majority
of two-thirds of the representative votes.

In 1871 the Confederation of North Germany developed into the German Empire, the South-western States entered into the federal bond, and the Constitution was extended so as to apply to this wider field. But in all its main features it continues as it was drawn up in 1867. (Compare the table of representation, on p. 436.)

We have therefore in Germany the anomaly of an imperial federation—an imperial title and virtually imperial sway super-imposed upon a true federation of mutually independent States. It is hardly necessary to point out that the "Empire" and the "Confederation" cannot in the strictest sense be coexistent. Either the imperial or the federative form of government is vitiated by the other—or both forms are so far vitiated that they cannot be expected to maintain a long existence side by side. Between 1867 and 1871 Prussia had by the Constitution a decided hegemony (more distinctly brought out in the

articles not quoted above than in the articles which are quoted), but her monarch was not king beyond the borders of Prussia. The Confederation and the Constitution remain, but the king has become nominally the supreme ruler of each and all of the States—he disposes of the army and navy, he controls the combined administration and organization of all the German territories, and he is actually emperor in a sense which was never true of the Hapsburg emperor.

Adminis- The supreme administration of the empire is
tration. committed, under the Chancellor, to the following departmental Ministers—a Minister for Foreign Affairs, a Minister of the Home Office and Representative of the Chancellor, Ministers of the Admiralty, of Justice, of the Treasury, and of the Post Office. In addition to these Ministers (who do not constitute a responsible Cabinet), the Bundesrath itself has administrative powers, which it exercises through eleven Committees—those namely which deal with the Army, Navy, Customs and Taxes, Trade, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Law, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Alsace - Lorraine, Constitutional Affairs and Standing Orders. It will be seen that the provisions of Article 8 of the Constitution were considerably extended after the events of 1870-1; and in particular the Committee on Foreign Affairs is regularly constituted of the members representing Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg.

The kingdoms and the largest of the other States are divided into provinces, districts (Bezirke), arrondissements (Kreise), and parishes (Gemeinden). The government of the province includes a governor, a military commandant, and a council or consistorium, appointed by the head of the

State. The district also has a president and an elective council ; and the minor sub-divisions and towns have their representative local institutions, though not so free from superior control as the corresponding divisions in Great Britain. The organization indicated above is that which has existed for some considerable time in Prussia ; and Prussia may be taken as the general model of the larger States.

The twelve Provinces of Prussia (divided into 35 districts) are as follows :—East and West Prussia (Proper), Brandenburg, Pomerania, Posen, Silesia, Saxony (Prussian), Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Westphalia, Hesse-Nassau, Rheinland. To these must be added the small Principality of Hohenzollern.

Bavaria is divided into eight Provinces ; Würtemberg into four Kreise ; Saxony into four ; Baden into four ; Hesse into three Provinces ; and so forth.

Alsace-Lorraine is directly under the government of the Emperor.

There is a primary court in each Kreis and Judicial important town ; and above them there are Adminis- Landgerichte and Oberlandesgerichte—one Ober- tration. landesgericht serving for several of the smaller States (as that of Jena serves for Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenberg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Anhalt, Reuss-Greiz, Reuss-Schleiz, and Schwarz-Rudolstadt. The Supreme Court of the empire is at Leipzig.

The law of Prussia is based on the code adopted towards the end of the eighteenth century—"Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten," which has been enlarged, and in some important respects modified. The western system of German law has come within the influence of the Code Napoleon.

In Berlin there is a Private Judicial Council, in which the members of the royal family and the Hohenzollern Princes are entitled to sit. It is composed of twelve members of the Berlin Chamber of Justice, five of whom are judges of first instance. The Chamber inquires into and adjudges on crimes against the State.

Education In regard to education as in most other and matters Prussia has led the way for the whole of **Religion.** Germany. Throughout the empire elementary education is compulsory, and as a consequence the percentage of illiterates is very low. The system is much the same as that which has been adopted in Great Britain since 1870 ; but even in the last century Prussia had laid down the general principles of compulsion, low fees and State aid, a secular curriculum with stated times for religious instruction, school management by elective boards, local rates, remission of fees in particular cases as the necessary supplement of compulsion, with the systematic training of teachers and inspection of schools. The control of the town schools is now for the most part in the hands of the town councils. The fees average threepence a week in towns, and one groschen a week in the rural schools. In 1886 there were in Prussia alone over 33,000 elementary schools, attended by 17 per cent. of the population—a very high proportion, especially seeing that the school age is 6–14. The number of pupils (4,800,000) was just six-sevenths of the estimated population of school age. Notwithstanding this marked efficiency the item of public instruction figured in the budget for no more than £1,800,000.

There are also many technical, industrial, normal and other special schools ; 89 higher (grammar) schools, in

which English, but not Latin, is regularly taught; and twenty universities—of which ten are in Prussia—the fees being low in all cases. In nearly every German State the control of education is in the hands of a Minister of Public Instruction. Military service may be reduced from three years to one by the production of certain educational certificates.

So far as religion is concerned, the universities of Freiburg, Munich, Münster and Würzburg are Roman Catholic; Bonn, Breslau, and Tübingen are mixed; and Berlin, Erlangen, Giessen, Göttingen, Griefswald, Halle, Heidelberg, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipzig, Marburg, Rostock and Strassburg are Protestant. The total number of their students in 1887 was 27,784.

Of the total population of Germany in 1880, the Protestant denominations numbered over 62 per cent., and the Roman Catholics nearly 36 per cent. More than 1 per cent. were Jews. There is full toleration under the Constitution. Grants to Protestants and Catholics alike are made from the public funds of most of the States. In Prussia the Protestant organization is controlled by consistories in each province, appointed by the Government. In Baden, Bavaria, and the other States which have a large Roman Catholic majority, the Church Government is carried on by a concordat with the Vatican; but in the rest of Germany the imperial Government retains its veto on the appointment of bishops and priests.

The internal commerce of Germany is regulated by the Zollverein, or Customs Union, Finance. which in the third and fourth decades of the century put an end to the previously existing chaos. Up to 1825 every State of the Confederation levied its own frontier duties,

and made an income for itself at the expense of all its neighbours. The patience with which Germany for a long time endured this intolerable disorganization was phenomenal; but at length the princes as well as the people made an effort to bring it to an end. The Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg made the first commercial treaty; Prussia entered into agreements with the Schwarzburgs and Darmstadt; then two or three of the central States began to arrange their octrois on terms of mutual accommodation. In 1828 the national movement had fairly begun, and within five years the more important States had combined together on the basis of identical duties on importation, exportation, and transit, with a common regulative authority, and a periodical division of the revenues in proportion to population. The two Mecklenburgs hung back to the last, and the free cities of Hamburg and Bremen remain outside the Zollverein to the present day. Otherwise the dividing barriers have all been thrown down; and no doubt the commercial unification of Germany did much to pave the way for the political union of 1871. The Zollverein formerly had its own annual Parliament, but the Constitution of the empire has transferred its business to three permanent Committees of Finance, Customs, and Trade. The combined import and export dues received by the collectors of the Union have for one or two years past exceeded, or approximated to, £300,000,000 annually.

For the year 1887-8 the general Revenue of the empire, mainly derived from customs, excise, post, and telegraphs, was estimated at about £37,344,000. The Expenditure has recently been in excess of income, and the deficiencies are either carried forward or covered, from time to time, by loans. The chief items of expenditure are charges on

Debt, War, Imperial Treasury, Admiralty, Pension and Invalid funds. The funded Debt in 1886 was about £23,000,000, and the unfunded nearly £7,000,000. Against this 30 millions sterling there is to be set off an invested fund of nearly 35 millions sterling, appropriated to war and other contingencies.

The separate budget of Prussia for 1887-8 shows an estimated Revenue of £64,412,000, and an Expenditure of £65,835,000. This expenditure, which does not include the items named above as coming into the imperial budget, is equivalent to about £2 5s. per head of the population, or an average annual charge of about £11 5s. per household. The Public Debt now approaches £205,000,000.*

GERMAN DEPENDENCIES.

The colonial enterprise of Germany is recent in its origin, but the agents of the empire have already acquired territories capable of considerable development. The principal possessions or protectorates are as follows:—

In Africa—

Togo on the Slave Coast, with Porto Seguro and Popo; Bimbia, and territories on the Cameroon River, with the land lying between the right bank of the Rio del Rey on the north and the Rio Campo on the south; and Ambas Bay.

The coast of Damaraland, from Cape Frio to Walfisch Bay.

The coast of Namaqualand, from Walfisch Bay to the Orange River, including Angra Pequena.

The territory from Mount Kilimanjaro southward to the

* For full and precise details, see *The Statesman's Year Book*.

Rovuma River (Zanzibar)—an area of about 100,000 square miles.

In the Pacific—

The north-east part of New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelm's Land), bounded by British and Dutch New Guinea—about 70,800 square miles.

The Bismarck Archipelago (east of New Guinea), the Marshall Group, and several islands of the Solomon Group—about 24,000 square miles.

An arrangement between Germany and Great Britain in April, 1886, marked out the distinct areas of influence to be exerted by the two countries in the Western Pacific—which was defined as lying between 15° north latitude and 30° south, and between 165° and 195° east longitude. Within these limits reciprocal free trade is established between the German and British possessions. An Anglo-German understanding exists in reference to the neutral group of the Tonga, or Friendly Islands; whilst the Samoa, or Navigator Islands, are under the joint influence of Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. In October, 1886, these three Powers sent commissioners to arrange the manner in which their influence should be brought to bear. In the course of 1887 a German force was landed on the principal island in order to punish one of the native kings for the ill-treatment of German subjects and for insults offered to the German flag.

A declaration was agreed to in July, 1887, between Germany and Portugal, which defines the boundaries of their African possessions as follows:—In South-West Africa the dividing line follows the course of the Cunene River from its mouth to the falls south of Humbe, where

the Cunene breaks through the Serra Canna. From this point the line runs on the parallel of latitude to the Kubango, then in the course of this river to Andara, which place falls within the sphere of Germany's interests, and thence in a straight line east to the rapids of Catima, on the Zambesi. In South-East Africa the dividing line follows the course of the River Rovuma from its mouth to the point where the M'Sinja River joins the Rovuma, and runs thence westwards on the parallel of latitude as far as the shore of Lake Nyassa.

A general election to the lower House of the German Reichstag took place in February, 1887, the results of which were as follows:—

Party.	Votes Polled in 1887.	P.c. of the Total.	Votes Polled in 1884.	Representation.
Conservatives	1,194,504	16·8	860,063	67
Imperialists	693,195	9·8	387,687	39
National Liberals	1,658,158	23·4	995,033	93
New German Liberals	549,302	7·7	997,004	31
Popular Party	109,372	1·6	97,891	6
Ultramontanes	1,627,095	22·9	1,378,394	91
Poles	213,626	3·0	204,188	12
Alsations	247,654	3·5	165,571	14
Guelphs	25,903	0·4	22,769	1
Socialists	774,128	10·9	549,936	43
Total	7,092,937	100·0	5,658,536	397

Of these members it has been observed that nearly one-third bore titles of nobility, including 55 Conservatives, 81 Ultramontanes (the "Centre"), 16 Imperialists, 8 National Liberals, and nearly all the Poles.

The long-standing dispute with Rome has been virtually

settled by a compromise. A May Laws Amendment Bill was passed by the Prussian Chambers soon after the imperial elections, Prince Bismarck taking occasion to say that the country had "quarrelled long enough with Rome." The Pope at the same time counselled the Prussian Centre to vote for the Bill, which in certain clauses required the recognition of the temporal authority by ecclesiastical dignitaries. The measure passed by 243 votes against 100—42 abstaining.

The Parliament of Germany has prolonged its legislative term from three to five years. The change was not effected without considerable opposition, the grounds of which will be familiar enough to British readers who recall the controversies created by the Septennial Bill.

State Socialism. There was also introduced in the last session of the Reichstag a Bill to provide for the charge of aged working-men (*Altersversorgung der Arbeiter*). This was represented as the last of a trio of Bills intended to carry out the principles of State Socialism in the form which has approved itself to German statesmen. The other two laws, providing a system of insurance against illness and accidents (*Krankenversicherung* and *Unfallversicherung*), have been in operation for some time past, but not long enough to warrant any one in drawing definite conclusions as to their effect. It is contended, however, by some German writers that there has already been a marked decrease in the pauperization of the industrial classes, and in the crime traceable to indigent members of the same classes.

Private effort largely supplements the action of the State in the ameliorative treatment of pauperism and incipient crime. As an illustration of such effort may be mentioned

a system of home colonization which has within the past few years been successfully worked in Germany, and especially in Prussia and Saxony. Between 1882 and 1887, as many as sixteen industrial establishments (*Arbeiter-Colonien*), chiefly agricultural, have been set on foot, which provide work and maintenance for an average of over four hundred persons annually in each institution. Though not yet self-supporting, it is claimed for these establishments that they reclaim large numbers of human waifs and strays, preventing as well as relieving destitution, and producing a sensible effect upon the criminal statistics of the neighbourhoods in which they exist—the number of first offences by vagrants and unemployed persons having diminished by one-fifth during the five years.

Another outcome of private effort are the houses of refuge (over 1000 in number) recently established throughout Germany. The police are authorized to issue a certain number of free tickets of admission to these working homes (though work is not imperative), the cost being thrown upon the rates; and it is computed that more than half-a-million of casual admissions are granted in the course of a year. A serious question is evidently raised by the fact that the system of compulsory relief, in which individual and State efforts are combined, has reached such vast proportions in so short a time.

The foreign policy of Germany continues to be the pivot on which the equilibrium of Europe is maintained, and all the calculations or intrigues of Continental statesmen are governed by the ideas which prevail, or are supposed to prevail, at Berlin. Prince Bismarck's ruling motive is doubtless to preserve and

Foreign
Policy.

strengthen the German Empire ; but the preservation of the empire depends on the preservation of peace in Europe, and the policy of Germany is therefore essentially a policy of peace. Great danger could scarcely arise for Germany except through a combination of hostile Powers. Her twofold aim is to prevent such a combination from being formed, and to form other combinations strong enough to meet any emergency. The year has witnessed a deliberate attempt by individuals in Russia and France, rather than by the Governments of these two countries, to combine them in hostility to Russia. It is impossible to say how nearly the attempt succeeded. The death of M. Katkoff was probably a fortunate event for Germany, but the spirit which made the Russian editor so formidable survived his removal. As a counter-move to the menace, Prince Bismarck invited the Italian premier to Friedrichsruhe, and virtually concluded with him a defensive treaty. It has been asserted that both Russia and France had previously made bids for the Italian alliance—which from their point of view meant an offensive alliance ; but Italy's interests in Europe are on the side of peace, and the course which Signor Crispi has followed, whilst it tends to the maintenance of peace, is at the same time consonant with the good understanding which already subsisted between Italy and Great Britain.

The compact between Germany and Austria was renewed in 1887, each State guaranteeing the integrity of the other's dominions, in the event of an attack from any quarter. The mutual undertaking doubtless goes beyond this, and, although neither Power may be entitled to rely on its ally in an aggressive war, it is clear that Austria can advance her claims in the Balkan Peninsula with

greater confidence by virtue of the friendly attitude of Germany.

In the absence of a full knowledge as to the reciprocal pledges and relations of the Governments of Europe, it is still possible to appreciate their position and obligations in regard to each other. Thus—

Germany has a direct understanding or alliance with Austria, guaranteeing her national integrity in case of a war with Russia, and by implication favouring her claims in South-eastern Europe ;

„ „ a direct understanding or alliance with Italy, primarily in the interests of peace ;

„ „ a good understanding with Great Britain, based on the fact that British interests and sympathies—in the Balkans, in the Mediterranean, and in Asia—are not perfectly harmonious with those of Russia, whilst her European interests are generally harmonious with those of the Central Powers ;

„ „ critical relations with Russia, which have altered for the worse in 1887, owing to the acute development of the Bulgarian question, the bolder attitude of Austria, the aggressive spirit of the Russian war party, and of their friends in France ;

„ „ a latent antagonism with France, which acts as though preparing for a war of revenge.

Russia has come to a good understanding with Great Britain in regard to her Central Asian frontier ;

Russia maintains an unyielding attitude towards Bulgaria, where she has been able to act ostensibly in harmony with the Porte, and technically in accordance with the Berlin Treaty, though not in accordance with its spirit.

Italy is in alliance with Germany and Austria, declares her loyal friendship with France, and (in the words of Signor Crispi) "acts at sea in accord with Great Britain."

France is without definite alliances. She courts Russia; watches the action of Germany with jealousy and distrust; and has, in 1887, come to a fairly good understanding with Great Britain in regard to Egyptian and Colonial questions.

GREECE.

The Constitutional Kingdom of Greece (capital, Athens) occupies the southern part of the Balkan peninsula, with most of the neighbouring islands. It is bounded on the north by the Turkish provinces of Epirus and Macedonia.

Area, 25,000 square miles. Population, about 2,000,000. It is estimated that three times this number of persons, of Greek race and speech, are scattered over the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

GOVERNMENT.

Greece was recognized as an independent monarchy at the Conference of London in 1830. The first constitutional assembly was summoned in 1843, but the present Constitution was not promulgated until 1864, when the previously existing Senate was abolished, and a single

The group of islands is named after Hawaii, the largest (11,356 square kilometres). It has a population of about 25,000; but Oahu (1,680 square kilometres), which contains the capital, has nearly 35,000 inhabitants. The other principal islands are Maouï, Kaouaï, Nīuhau, Molokaï, and Lanī. According to the census of 1884, the population at the end of that year was 80,578—the area being 6,677 square miles. The increase in that year, by balance of immigration alone, was 2,713, and, as this rate has since been exceeded, the population in 1888 must be over 90,000, which gives an average of about fourteen to the square mile.

By the same census the indigenous population was computed at 40,014, steadily decreasing; white settlers, 17,835, rapidly increasing; 4,218 half-castes; 17,939 Chinese; and about 1,100 of other stocks. Of the whites, 2,066 were from the United States, 1,282 from Great Britain, 1,600 from Germany, and 9,377 from Portugal, or the old Portuguese colonies of South America.

GOVERNMENT.

Hawaii was erected into a kingdom early in the present century, and recognized as such by the Great Powers. A Constitution was agreed upon in 1840, and revised in 1864 and on several subsequent occasions.

The power of the King is strictly limited. The Government is Parliamentary, on the British model, except that King, nobles, and popular representatives sit together in one Legislative Assembly. Up to 1887 the nobles were appointed by the King, but in that year there was an important revolution, due to popular discontent, and a new Constitution was signed by King Kalakaua on July

10th. It is now determined that the nobles must be elected, like the other representatives, the two orders still sitting in the same Chamber. Nobles must be Hawaiian subjects not under the age of twenty-five, who have lived at least three years in the kingdom. They must be owners of taxable property to the value of £600, or be in receipt of an income of not less than £120. There is a lower property or income franchise for persons entitled to vote in the election of the nobles.

The popular representatives number twenty-eight; and the electoral franchise in their case was lowered in 1887 so as to include all male subjects of full age who pay taxes. All elections are for two years, and it is provided that the Legislature must meet at least once in that period. Debates are carried on in English and in the Hawaiian tongue, according to the choice or necessity of the speaker—as in Hungary, Malta, the Cape, &c.

The last revision of the Constitution has yet more narrowly defined the powers of the King. Freedom of speech and of the press is declared to be inviolable. War cannot be declared, nor taxation increased, without the consent of the Legislature; though power is still reserved to a majority of the Privy Council to act during emergencies when the Assembly is not sitting.

Each of the larger islands of the group has a Governor and a local administration.

Education. Schools are supported throughout by the State, at a cost of about £36,000. Most of them are denominational. There is an Anglican bishop at Honolulu; and all forms of religion are tolerated.

Tariff, &c. The customs duties are not exceptionally heavy. They produce about £100,000 out of

a total public revenue of nearly £700,000. Debt, about £220,000.

ITALY.

The Constitutional Kingdom of Italy (capital, Rome) occupies the central peninsula of Europe in the Mediterranean. It is bounded on the north-east by the Federal Empire of Austria, on the north by the Federal Republic of Switzerland, and on the north-west by the Republic of France. From Austria the province of Venetia was recovered in 1866, after a war between France and Sardinia on the one hand and Austria on the other. Savoy and Nice, Italian provinces, were annexed by France in 1860. In the Swiss canton of Ticino the Italian language prevails. Included within the territory is the petty independent Republic of San Marino;—area, 32 square miles; population, 8,000.

The area and population, classified by Departments, with the names of the 69 Provinces, are as follows:—

	Sq. miles.	Pop., 1885.
PIEDMONT:—Alessandria, Cuneo, Novara, Torino	11,882	8,173,303
LIGURIA:—Geneva, Porto Maurizio	2,089	919,185
LOMBARDY:—Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Cremona, Milano, Mantua, Pavia, Sondrio	9,075	3,888,360
VENICE:—Belluno, Padova, Rovigo, Treviso, Udine, Venezia, Verona, Vicenza	9,069	2,964,595
EMILIA:—Bologna, Ferrara, Forlì, Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Ravenna, Reggio	7,921	2,361,660
PERUGIA	3,719	598,479
MARCHES:—Ancona, Ascoli Piceno, Macerata, Pesaro-Urbino	3,746	978,447
TUSCANY:—Arezzo, Firenze, Grosseto, Livorno, Lucca, Massa Carrara, Pisa, Siena	9,287	2,394,605
ROME	4,801	937,712
ABRUZZI & MOLISE:—Aquila, Campobasso, Chieti, Teramo	6,669	1,386,817
CAMPANIA:—Avellino, Benevento, Caserta, Napoli, Salerno	6,948	3,011,743
APULIA:—Bari, Foggia, Lecce	8,541	1,675,471
POTENZA (Basilicata)	4,122	549,599
CALABRIA:—Catanazara, Cosenza, Reggio	6,663	1,304,990
SICILIA:—Caltanissetta, Catania, Girgenti, Messina, Palermo, Siracusa, Trapani	11,289	3,106,306
SARDINIA	9,399	711,518
Total of Italy	114,410	29,699,785

Average to the square mile, 261. In 1881 there were 60,000 residents of foreign nationality in Italy.

GOVERNMENT.

After the unification of Italy, under the lead of Sardinia, the Constitution granted to the latter State by Charles Albert in 1848 was gradually applied to the whole country. Successive decrees have extended this fundamental law to Lombardy (1859), Emilia, Tuscany, Naples, and Sicily, the Marches, Umbria (1860), Venetia (1866), and the Roman territory (1870). A separate Law of Guarantees (see below) was passed in 1871 to regulate the position of the Holy See within the kingdom.

The Constitution establishes the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion, but grants toleration to all others. The throne is hereditary, subject to the Salic law, by which no female can succeed. The King shares the Legislative power with the two Chambers, and he is the sole wielder of the Executive power. "He is the supreme head of the State, commands all the land and sea forces, declares war, concludes treaties of peace, alliance, commerce, and others, bringing them to the knowledge of the Chambers as the interest and security of the State permit, and adding to them such communications as may seem fit. Treaties involving a charge upon the finances, or a modification of the national territory, are without effect until they have received the assent of the Chambers. The King appoints to all public offices; he issues decrees and regulations necessary to the execution of the laws, but may not suspend or dispense with their observation. The King alone sanctions and promulgates the laws. He may grant pardon and commute penal sentences. The King annually con-

vokes the two Chambers ; he may prorogue their sessions and dissolve the Chamber of Deputies (*Camera dei Deputati*) ; but in the latter case he convokes another within four months. The initiative of legislation rests with the King and with each Chamber. Nevertheless, every law establishing a tax, or approving the budgets and accounts of the nation, is to be first presented to the Chamber of Deputies."

After provisions for a regency, and for the civil list (now £614,000), the Constitution requires that "the King, when he succeeds to the throne, shall take, in presence of the united Chambers, an oath loyally to observe the present Statute."

Of the rights and duties of citizens :—"All the inhabitants, whatever their description or rank, are equal before the law. . . . They contribute without distinction, in proportion to their means, to the burdens of the State. Individual liberty is guaranteed. No one can be arrested or handed over to justice except in case provided by law, and by the prescribed modes. The dwelling is inviolable. No domiciliary visit may be paid save by virtue of the law, and in prescribed form. The press shall be free, but a law shall prohibit its abuse. . . . All property, without exception, is inviolable. But when the general interest demands it, it may be taken, wholly or in part, against a fair compensation, in conformity with the laws. No tax can be imposed or collected unless it has been agreed to by the Chambers and sanctioned by the King. The public debt is guaranteed. Every engagement of the State to its creditors is inviolable. The right of peaceful, unarmed meeting is recognized, in conformity with the laws, which may regulate its exercise in the interest of the public.

This arrangement does not apply to meetings in public places, or places open to the public, which are entirely subject to the regulations of the police."

The Senate is composed of "members nominated for life by the King, without limit of number, being forty years of age, and selected from the following classes:—(1) archbishops and bishops of the establishment; (2) the President of the Chamber of Deputies; (3) Deputies who have sat during three legislatures, or who have had six years' experience; (4) Ministers of State; (5) Secretaries of State; (6) Ambassadors; (7) Envoyextraordinary, having served three years; (8) first Presidents and Presidents of the Court of Cassation and the Chamber of Accounts; (9) first Presidents of the Court of Appeal; (10) the Advocate-General of the Court of Cassation, and the Procureur-General, after five years of office; (11) Chamber-Presidents of the Court of Appeal, after three years of office; (12) Councillors of the Court of Cassation and of the Chamber of Accounts, after five years; (13) Advocates-General and Fiscals-General in the Courts of Appeal, after five years; (14) general officers on land and sea—but major-generals and rear-admirals must have been five years in active service; (15) Councillors of State after five years; (16) members of Provincial Councils, after three elections to the presidency; (17) Commissaries-General, after seven years; (18) members of the royal academies of science, after seven years; (19) ordinary members of the Superior Council of Public Instruction, after seven years of service; (20) all who, by eminent services or deserts, have brought honour to their country; (21) persons who for three years have paid 3,000 lire (£120) of direct taxation, from their property or by their industry." In addition, royal princes have a vote in the Senate after their

twenty-fifth year. The President and Vice-President are nominated by the King. By a royal decree the Senate may be constituted into a High Court of Justice, to try charges of high treason and attempts against the safety of the State, and to judge Ministers impeached by the Chamber of Deputies. No Senator can be arrested without the order of the Senate, except in the actual commission of crime; and the Senate alone is competent to try a Senator.

The Chamber of Deputies is composed of 508 members, elected by 135 electoral colleges. Electors must be twenty-one years old, and pay at least 16s. 10d. in taxation; they must also be able to read and write. The voters now on the roll are about 2,500,000. Elections are held by *scrutin de liste*. Candidates must be citizens of thirty years. "The Deputies represent the nation generally, and not only the provinces in which they have been elected. No imperative mandate may be given them by the voters. They are elected for five years, at the expiration of which period their mandate ceases. The President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by the Chamber from its own body, at the beginning of each session for the full duration of the same. . . . The Chamber of Deputies has the right to impeach the Ministers of the King, and to bring them before the High Court of Justice."

The sessions of the Senate and Chamber begin and end simultaneously. The meeting of either Chamber whilst the other is not sitting is illegal, and its acts are null and void. Senators and Deputies "take the oath of fidelity to the King, loyally to obey the Statute and the laws of the State, and to discharge their functions in such manner as to keep in view the inseparable advantage of the King and

the country." There is no payment of members in either Chamber, but Senators and Deputies may travel gratuitously. Subsequent clauses provide for the immunity of members in the expression of opinions and for the general method of legislation. "Votes are taken by rising and sitting, by divisions, and by ballot. The latter method must always be employed for votes on a Bill as a whole, and on Resolutions referring to persons."

The King nominates and suspends his Ministers. Ministers have no vote in either Chamber unless they have been elected to it; but they have the right of entry, and must be heard whenever they demand a hearing. They are responsible to the Chambers; and every law or act of the Government must be countersigned by a Minister.

Local Adminis- The provincial and communal institutions of the country are guaranteed by the Constitution; **tration.** and they were laid down in a separate law passed at the end of 1865. A parliamentary commission reported on the subject of local government in 1881, and legislation has followed. The appointment of prefects over the sixty-nine provinces is in the hands of the Ministry; but the local councils are elective.

Judicial Adminis- The Constitution declares that "Justice has its source in the King, and is administered in **tration.** his name by the judges whom he appoints. The judges nominated by the King, except those on commission, are immovable after three years of office. . . . No man may be withdrawn from his natural judges; and consequently, no extraordinary tribunals and commissions can be created." The proceedings of civil and criminal courts are required to be published; and the interpretation of the laws is exclusively in the hands of the Legislature.

A law of 1874 establishes trial by jury and courts of assizes.

The substance of the Fundamental Statute of 1848 has now been given, and it may interest the reader to compare it with the other Constitutions adopted in 1848 and subsequently. The points of resemblance are many, and the frequent identity of terms reveals the common origin (in all essentials) of the charters of this historical epoch. (See Denmark, Greece, and the central European States).

Education is behindhand in Italy. In 1881, **Education** the general average of illiterates, both under **and** and over the elementary school limit of fifteen **Religion** years, was more than 61 per cent.—the rate in South Italy, the islands, and the Basilicata, reaching or exceeding 80 per cent. The number of children of school age was 5,718,854, and barely two millions of these attended public or private schools. There was at least one school in every commune, the total number being 8,257, in the majority of which the law of compulsory education was beginning to be put in force. The confiscation of the religious houses in 1866 furnished a considerable amount of property for educational purposes. There are twenty-one universities in Italy, of which four are free from State control, and a large number of public and private colleges and schools. The annual contribution by the State is about £1,350,000; the expenditure of the Provinces exceeding £215,000, and of the Communes £2,450,000.

For the relations of Church and State, see below, “Law of Guarantees.”

The budget of 1887 showed Revenue, mainly **Finance** from direct taxes, customs, and excise, £68,761,000, and Expenditure, £68,009,000. **Public**

Debt, nearly £460,000,000—per head of the population, £15 15s.

THE ROMAN PONTIFICATE.

Though the Pope lost his temporal power in 1870, he is still the crowned head of an organized administration which discharges very important functions in the government of the world. His sovereignty is recognized by the Italian Government; he sends his legates and nuncios to the Courts of many monarchs; he nominates to 7 apostolic delegations, 107 apostolic vicariates, and 34 apostolic prefectures—all under the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide;—he exercises his executive administration through a Secretary of State and a number of departmental Secretaries and Prefects within the College of Cardinals; and he is regarded as an absolute and infallible ruler of a State which is by no means exclusively spiritual in its constitution.

There are about 60 cardinals, 8 patriarchs, 1,135 archbishops; and, in Italy alone, 37 ecclesiastical provinces and over 20,000 parishes.

The Pope has not yet accepted the Statute of 1871, commonly known as the Law of Guarantees, which was declared in 1878 by the Italian Council of State to be a "fundamental law" of the kingdom. The chief provisions of this "Law on the prerogatives of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy See, and on the relations of the State with the Church," are as follows:—

The person of the Supreme Pontiff is inviolable. An attack upon his person, or an incitement thereto, is punished in the same manner as the corresponding crimes against the person of the King. Discussion on religious questions is entirely free. "The Italian Government

renders to the Supreme Pontiff, on the territory of the kingdom, the honours of sovereignty, and upholds the honourable pre-eminence accorded to him by Catholic sovereigns. The Supreme Pontiff may retain the accustomed number of guards attached to his person and to the guardianship of the palaces, without prejudice to the obligations and duties imposed on these guards by the laws of the realm."

An income of £129,000 is set apart for the Holy See—"equal to that entered in the Roman budget under the head of 'Sacred Apostolic Palaces, Sacred College, Ecclesiastical Congregations, Secretary of State, and Diplomatic representation abroad.'" This grant is inscribed in the Great Book of the Public Debt, as a perpetual and inalienable income, in the name of the Holy See. In addition, the Supreme Pontiff continues to occupy the two palaces of the Vatican and Lateran, with the annexed dwellings and estates, and the Villa Castel-Gandolfo, which, together with the museums, libraries, and collections of art and archaeology, are inalienable, and exempt from tax or charge of any kind.

The Government guarantees the personal liberty of the cardinals, the freedom of the Conclave and the Œcumenical Councils, the privacy of all offices and documents concerned solely with spiritual matters, and the immunity of ecclesiastics employed in the spiritual administration. Envoys from or to foreign Governments to the Holy See have all the prerogatives and immunities accorded to diplomatic agents by international law. Postal and telegraphic privileges are granted to the Holy See on very liberal terms. "The seminaries, academies, colleges, and other Catholic institutions founded for the education and in-

struction of ecclesiastics, in the city of Rome and the six suburban sees, will continue to depend absolutely upon the Holy See, free from all intervention on the part of the scholastic authorities of the realm."

With respect to the relations of State and Church, "every special restriction on the right of meeting, for members of the Catholic clergy, is abolished. The Government renounces the right of '*legazia apostolica*' in Sicily, and, for the whole realm, the right of nominating and presenting to the major benefices. Bishops will not be required to take the oath of allegiance to the King. Major and minor benefices may be conferred only on citizens of the realm, except in the city of Rome and the suburban sees." The publication and execution of acts of ecclesiastical authority are exempted from the necessity of the royal *exequatur* and *placet*. No appeal is received in spiritual and disciplinary matters against the acts of the ecclesiastical authorities; but they cannot be executed by the power of the State. "The recognition of the legal effect of these acts, as of all other acts of the same authorities, devolves upon the civil jurisdiction. Nevertheless these acts are void of effect if they are contrary to the laws of the State or to public order, or if they injuriously affect the rights of individuals; and they involve punishment if they constitute offences against the law."

SAN MARINO.

The Republic of San Marino had its origin in an abbey domain, which in the eleventh century constituted itself into a commune, and declared its independence. Some claim an earlier republican origin. A treaty now exists between the State and Italy, renewed as late as 1872, in

which the Republic declares that, "confiding in the protective friendship of the King of Italy for the maintenance of its liberty and independence, it will not accept that of any other Power." Area, 32 square miles; population, about 8,000.

There is no written Constitution. The administration is in the hands of a Grand Council of sixty members, who are divided into the three categories of patricians, burghers, and peasants. Each third renews itself by co-optation from its own class. This body was created in 1852, when it took over the authority of the previously existing *arringe*, or assembly of the heads of families.

For the foreign relations of Italy, see *Germany*, 1887. During the greater part of the year, since the destruction of the Italian force by the Abyssinians near Massowah, the Governments of Depretis and Crispi have been preparing an expedition intended to vindicate the military credit of the country. The effect of a final victory by the European troops would be to confirm, if not to extend, the possessions of Italy on the Red Sea, where she holds the Danakil coast, north of Obock, and (since February, 1885), on a mutual understanding with Great Britain, the port of Massowah.

The domestic politics of Italy have in the meantime remained quiet, and commercial treaties have been concluded with Austria, France, Switzerland, and Spain.

JAPAN.

The Absolute Monarchy of Japan (capital, Tokio) occupies a group of islands to the east of Asia, the nearest

part of the mainland being the peninsula of Corea. The islands face the Manchurian coast, and the geographical position of Japan does not impose upon the country close political relations with any other Powers except the Empire of China and the quasi-independent State of Corea.

Area, 148,456 square miles. The population in 1885 was 37,868,987, of whom the privileged classes numbered about 1,935,000. The foreign element is very slight. According to a recent official return (1887) there were some 5,000 Chinese, 1,423 British, 592 Americans, 343 Germans, and 198 Frenchmen, and about 50 other Europeans. In Government employ there were 134, of whom 68 were British, and 27 Germans.

History. The recent development of Japan is both interesting in itself and important to a good understanding of the political changes now in course of operation.*

From 1192, when Yoritomo was made chief Shōgun, or general, his descendants were "in point of form the first vassals, but in fact the real rulers of the country." The hereditary Mikados were treated with great formal reverence, but were studiously held aloof from the active government. The Jesuits early found an entrance into the country, and in the sixteenth century they had their university, and a following of some 200,000 Christians. The Shōgun Iyeyasu and his successors practically exterminated the members of this community, and adopted a rigidly exclusive policy. Society was based on the obser-

* Further information on questions of history and government may be obtained from Dr. Rein's *Japan nach Reisen und Studien*, Leipzig, 1880-6.

vance of carefully marked distinctions between (1) the Mikados' family, (2) the hereditary Shōguns, (3) the 250 Buke or Daimio nobles, (4) the Samurai, or feudal caste, who reached the number of about two millions, and (5) the Heimin, or industrial class. The Heimin were subdivided into *hiakusho*, or agriculturists, *shokunin*, or handicraftsmen, and *akindo*, or shopkeepers. Below these were the *hinin* ("not men") who were reputed pariahs and paupers. Other special classes were actors, mendicant monks, Buddhists, dancers, and prostitutes.

Towards the middle of the present century the Shōguns and Daimios, who had monopolized the administration of the country, displayed great incompetence, and became thoroughly unpopular; therefore, when they had been induced (in 1854) to open Yokohama to foreign trade, by treaties with the United States, Great Britain, and other Powers, advantage was taken of the fact to raise an agitation against them. The gist of the treaties here mentioned was as follows:—The diplomatic representatives of the Treaty Powers were to have the right of residence in Yedo, to be under the protection of the Shōgun, and to travel without hindrance; the Treaty Powers could establish consulates at ports open for commerce; the ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodato were to be opened on July 1, 1859, and others at later dates; building land might be rented at each of these places to foreigners; foreigners were to be under the jurisdiction of their own consuls; they were to pay duties, but would enjoy freedom of religion and commerce; they were to have free movement within a certain zone, but to obtain permission before passing inland; and there was in each of the earlier Treaties a "favoured nation clause."

In 1861 there were 126 foreigners at Yokohama ; but owing to the prejudices of the people—or, more probably, to the unsettled state of national feeling—the position of the residents was very precarious. A series of outrages against Europeans, followed by the exaction of indemnities, and the occasional use or display of naval force, marked the next few years after the opening of the Treaty ports.

In 1867 the present Mikado Mutsuhito, on acceding to the throne, called upon the Shōgun to resign his functions as chief administrator of the country. The Shōgun complied, but subsequently appealed to arms. After a brief struggle the power of the Mikado was established, and the feudal system which had endured for many centuries was brought to an end. The Kuge, or old court nobility, and the Daimios, were made to resign their fiefs into the hands of the Mikado, but they were allowed to retain one-tenth of their incomes, and to hold the rank of Kwad-zoku, whilst the Samurai were also reduced in the same proportion, being now classed as Shi-zoku ; the Heimin coming after them, as already described. A sanguinary revolution against the new order of things, which had caused widespread destitution, was suppressed in 1877.

The effect of this change was to restore an ancient form of despotic rule, subject to modifications which will presently be explained. It must not be identified with the popular expansive and imitative movement of which so many external signs have been afforded, though it is probably true that there was a common cause for phenomena which in themselves might appear irreconcilable.

The material development of Japan since the intercourse

with Europe and America began has resulted in the construction of railways, telegraphs, lighthouses, and various public works and buildings, both on the coasts and inland; in the adoption of new industries, especially manufacturing and engineering industries; in the accumulation of arms and vessels of war; and, of course, in the expenditure of large sums of money and the contraction of foreign loans. The development of opinion is attested by the publication and circulation of newspapers, the introduction in a tentative manner of European learning and literature, the abolition or decay of some ancient forms of barbarism, such as sacrifices to ancestors, harakiri, and the like. (On these points see below, under the heads of Education, Religion, and Finance.)

GOVERNMENT.

The organization of the actual government of Japan, which is likely before long to undergo great modifications, is thus described by Dr. Rein, in the work already referred to:—

“Japan is ruled not by the absolute will of the Mikado, but by an oligarchy, consisting of a number of more or less talented men, who planned and conducted the great revolution, and who, since the fall of the Shôgunate, have guided the ship of State on the whole with skill and good fortune, past many a dangerous rock. The system which they chose is essentially that which prevailed in Japan before the development of Feudalism, and is anything but a model. An all-powerful irresponsible bureaucracy in fact dominates the country. It is separated into three grades, with fifteen different ranks, viz.: The Choku-nin (1st-3rd rank), the So-nin (4th-7th rank), and the Han-nin

(8th-15th rank). The Dai-jō-kuan (great Council of State), which was established as early as 786 A.D. upon a Chinese model, and consists of three Ministers of State (Dai-jin, *i.e.*, Great Persons) and the Councillors of State (Sagi), is the supreme legislative and administrative authority, at whose sittings the Mikado is present, and which rules the governmental districts (Ken) by Governors (Rei or Ken-Rei). The presidents of the three Fu (chief towns) bear the title of Chiji. "To the Dai-jin belong: 1. the Daijō-Daijin (Great Minister of the Great Government) or Minister-President; 2. the Sa-Daijin (left-hand Great Minister), an office which was occasionally left unfilled; 3. the U-Daijin (right-hand Great Minister). The ten departmental ministers (Kio) must be Sagi; they have a Tayu (senior Vice-Minister), one or more Shoyu (junior Vice-ministers) and a whole army of minor officials at their side." The ten departments of the Government are:—

1. Guwaimusho (pr. Gaimuscho), the Foreign Office.
2. Naimushō, the Ministry of the Interior.
3. Okurashō, ,, ,, Finance.
4. Rikugunshō, ,, ,, War.
5. Kaigunshō, ,, ,, Marine.
6. Mombushō, ,, ,, Education.
7. Kiyōbushō, ,, ,, Worship (now abolished).
8. Kōbushō, ,, ,, Public Works.
9. Shihoshō, ,, ,, Justice.
10. Kunaishō, ,, ,, the Imperial Household.

"To these must be added further the Colonial Office, called Kaitakushi, for Yezo (now abolished) and the Kuriles. After the abolition of the feudal lordships, the country was divided into three Fu (chief towns), 72

Ken (governmental districts), the colony of Yezo, inclusive of the Kuriles, and a Han (clan), the Riukiu Islands."

The number of the Ken has been reduced by combination to forty-one, so that the districts under local government now number forty-four. Each is governed by a Ken-Rei of the fourth rank; and each of the sub-districts (counties and towns) is superintended by a Cho.

The Mikado, who has a civil list of £468,000, belongs to one of the five chief privileged families, the Gosekke, who claim collateral right to the Crown, and from whom alone the monarch may choose his consort.

Up to the present time Japan has no national Legislature. The bureaucracy frames the edicts which it subsequently administers, and it is the Council of State (with the assistance of a consultative Council of about seventy) which exercises this despotic, or rather oligarchic sway. But the leaders of the revolution of 1868, who delivered the Mikado from his compromised position, obtained from him a pledge that he would, as soon as possible, establish a constitutional form of government, and give political freedom to the nation at large. The pledge has been renewed on subsequent occasions, and an Imperial rescript in 1881 named the year 1890 for the accomplishment of this great organic change.

In the meantime it is to be observed that both written Constitutions and representative government exist in Japan. The work of the administrative departments, and of the local governments of provinces and districts, is regulated by codes of printed directions, from which neither law nor custom would sanction any departure. The governors and

the subordinate prefects are responsible to the several Departments, all being under the control of the Home Office. The local councils are distinctly elective; they have the power of fixing and levying rates; and in case of conflict with the prefects they have an appeal to a department of the Office of the Interior which corresponds to the Privy or State Council of Britain or France. The electors in the case of local councils are the male citizens of the age of twenty, paying more than five zen (dollars), or £1 annually, of direct taxation. Members of the council must be over twenty-five years of age, and must be taxed at more than £2. Under this franchise, established in 1879, it is estimated that there are nearly two millions of voters.

Though no draft of the promised Constitution of 1890 has been made public, it is known that Japanese statesmen have tentatively drawn up the clauses of a document which they are prepared to bring forward when the occasion arises. It will probably be found that the new Constitution will be eclectic in form, based in part upon the ancient customs of the country, in part upon the Constitutions of Germany, Great Britain, the United States, and the British Colonies. The general character of the clauses relating to the Legislative authority, and of the other clauses nominally assigning power to the representatives of the people, will doubtless be shaped on the German model. That is to say, the Constitution will be specious rather than effective, the real power being carefully retained in the hands of the present bureaucracy.

The text will declare the Mikado sovereign, and the Crown hereditary; it will continue the Council of three and

the Ministerial Council, but the latter will not be responsible to the Assembly. In place of the consultative Council created in 1875, there will be two Houses, the first nominated by the Crown and the second elective. It is uncertain if the old nobility, at whom such heavy blows have been aimed, will enter into the composition of the Upper House, or Senate—and, if so, whether by hereditary title or by representation. The newer nobility, which is a species of official aristocracy, will contribute largely to this body, and the Senate may be recruited as in France and Germany from persons who have won distinction in the State.

For the Lower House there will be a property qualification, and the franchise may remain as it is now fixed for electors to the provincial assemblies.

The Houses will vote supply, as well as legislate, though it is a question whether they will receive the power of initiation.

This sketch may be taken as at any rate an approximation to the future Constitution of Japan; and its German complexion is fairly manifest. It will mean a large advance on the present form of government, but it will not bring into play the popular forces on which the strength of the recent national developments ultimately depended. These extreme precautions would have more to commend them if they were less apparently calculated by and for the benefit of a mere official oligarchy, with the object of maintaining, and even strengthening, the centralization of existing government.

The laws also in Japan are in a state of **Judicial** transition. Iyeyasu left behind him a code, **Adminis-**
based on the feudal observances of his time, and **tration.**

on the ancient precepts of Confucius and Mencius. The family, rather than the individual, was, and still is, the unit of the State; but all individuals were affected by one or more of five paramount duties and relationships—those between sovereign and subject, parents and children, husband and wife, brothers and sisters, friend and friend. The definitions of these duties were the fundamental canons of Japanese law, so far as it concerned social life, and built upon them were a multitude of directions for persons of every class in the community. With the introduction of Western ideas a notable change has been effected in the character of the law. A Criminal Code and a Code of Criminal Procedure, mainly on the model of the Code Napoleon, have been brought into use, and a Civil Code has been drawn up on the lines of the existing codes of Europe. The commercial law of the country is being entirely remodelled. The judiciary has by this time been recruited by many men who have studied law in the European or American schools; so that the whole machinery of the Japanese courts has undergone a transformation.

Education Education is now compulsory in Japan, and
and something like 3,500,000 children are in regular
Religion. attendance at the elementary schools. It is the ancient custom of the country to begin the school training of a child on the sixth day of the sixth month of the sixth year, when it receives its first initiation into the knowledge of the Chinese alphabet. Western education is now a part of the regular school work, and in the higher schools modern languages and history, science and art, find a large number of students. There are also normal and technical schools, and a university at Tokio. In addition to home-education, the Government has spent considerable sums in

maintaining students at various colleges in Europe and America.

The religion of the higher classes is Shintoism, with a simple creed of hedonism, and a ritual of prayer and sacrifice, served by a hierarchy of about 15,000 priests. The ritual is not very unlike that of the Buddhists, who have more than 74,000 priests, and who at an early date enjoyed religious ascendancy in Japan. Various sects of Buddhism may be distinguished in the country. Christianity has made some progress since the revocation of the edict of suppression in 1876; but as a rule the more intellectual classes in Japan display indifference in matters of religion.

The weak point of Japanese finance is the **Finance.** absorption of the national credit by the issue of a large amount of paper money. The total debt exceeds fifty millions sterling, of which the foreign debt, chiefly held in Great Britain, is about £1,500,000. The revenue in 1887 was slightly under fifteen millions sterling, of which more than three-quarters was derived from land-tax and excise.

With a revenue of fifteen millions, and an import trade of nearly £6,000,000, the receipts for customs duties—fixed by the importing countries—amounted in 1887 to 2,621,744 zen, or less than £524,350. The Japanese reasonably urge that a customs revenue barely 3½ per cent. on their total income is very far below the average of other countries, and quite inadequate to their needs.

The negotiations for the revision of the treaties, **1887.** actively resumed in the spring of 1886, were

suspended in August, 1887, at the request of the Japanese Government, in order that the new Civil and Commercial Codes might be published before the conclusion of the new treaties, instead of after them, as originally intended. The fact appears to have been that public opinion in Japan had declared itself against the pledge which had been demanded of the Japanese negotiators by the representatives of the Treaty Powers, that they would frame new codes, based on Western principles of legislation, and submit them for the approval of the Powers. The negotiators, with Count Inouye at their head, though they found it necessary to yield to this expression of opinion, did not relax their efforts to bring about a condition of things satisfactory alike to Japan and to the foreign Powers. The desire of the Japanese for a long time past has been to provide against the confusion and difficulty created by the extra-territorial privileges of the Treaty Powers—according to which in 1887 as many as sixteen Consular Courts exercised jurisdiction over foreign residents (numbering over 3,000) of the several nationalities within the treaty ports. The proposal of the Government in 1882—declined at the time, but since accepted by the Powers—was to establish Mixed Courts in place of the Consular jurisdiction, including foreign judges who should be appointed, paid, and exclusively employed by the Japanese Government, to administer codes previously approved by the foreign Governments. Side by side with this modification, the tariff was to be revised, and the Japanese undertook to open up the whole country to foreign residence and commerce.

A Convention on this basis had been drawn up, and the new Japanese Criminal Code was admitted to be satisfactory as a basis of procedure for the Mixed Courts, when

it became manifest that public feeling had been aroused in Japan against the undertaking to submit the codes to the foreign Powers, and against the further provision that any modification of the codes during the next fifteen years was to be similarly submitted for approval. The independence and dignity of the country were clearly affected by these pledges. The Japanese held that the Convention needlessly subordinated their interests to those of foreigners, and they claimed that their country, whilst it was voluntarily and rapidly adopting constitutional forms of government, and placing itself in line with the great commercial nations of the world, ought to be received by those nations on equal terms. Some Japanese critics complained that their Government had submitted to demands which might be natural in a country under tutelage, like Egypt, but which were grievous and intolerable when applied to a sovereign State. The Government, it is evident, had no alternative but to withdraw from their position, and they consequently notified to the Powers that they found it necessary to postpone the negotiations until the Civil and Commercial Codes could be included in a complete form amongst the bases of a settlement, in place of the pledges relating to them.* Count Inouye shortly afterwards resigned his portfolio. Thus the whole matter is in abeyance; but judging from the general spirit in which the negotiations had been conducted on both sides, and from all the surrounding circumstances, there is no reason to doubt that the ratification of the Convention, with the opening up of the country and the conclusion of a fair Commercial Treaty, will follow without delay upon the completion of the codes. (See also pages 415–8.)

* See communicated articles in *The Times*, August 28 and September 17, 1887.

MADAGASCAR.

The Limited Monarchy of Madagascar (capital, Antananarivo) occupies an island opposite to the mouth of the Zambesi River, on the east coast of Africa.

Area, 228,500 square miles. Population, about 3,500,000, of whom the Hovas (of Malay origin) are the dominant race.

Of the mode of Government, little is accurately known. The monarch is assisted by a first Minister, who retains power indefinitely, subject to the pleasure of the King or Queen. Under him are four or five departmental ministers.

All Malagasy subjects owe personal service to the Crown; but the south of the island is practically independent of the present Government. Slavery exists as an institution. Education advances rapidly, being enjoined by the State, which also encourages Christianity. About one-tenth of the population is said to be Christianized.

There is a Public Debt of about £600,000.

(See also under *France*.)

MONTENEGRO.

The Principality of Montenegro, or Tchernagora (capital, Cetinje), is on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and is surrounded by the Turkish province of Albania and the Austrian provinces of Herzegovina and Novibazar. The district of Dulcigno was ceded by Turkey in 1880.

Area, 3,550 square miles. Population, about 260,000, mainly Slavs, but including about 7,000 Mahomedans.

GOVERNMENT.

A code of the ancient laws and institutions of Montenegro was drawn up by Prince Danilo in 1855; but, so far

as the government of the country is concerned, this instrument is superseded by a proclamation of the reigning Prince in 1879. The previously existing Senate was then suppressed, its judicial functions being transferred to a Grand Tribunal, whilst as a legislative body it was replaced by a Council of State, composed of eight members, of whom the Prince nominates four, and the remainder are elected by all male inhabitants who bear or have borne arms. Thus Montenegro, which before the accession of Prince Danilo was a spiritual dominion under a prince-bishop, is now a military organization. The forty tribes into which the country is divided are ruled by as many civil and ecclesiastical elders, and the same number of magistrates, who are also military commanders. The Principality is bound by treaties to Russia, and is annually subsidized by her.

The articles of the Treaty of Berlin (27 and 30) which specially bear on Montenegro are as follows :—"The High Contracting Parties are agreed upon the following conditions: In Montenegro distinctions of religious beliefs and confessions may not be brought against any man as a reason for exclusion or inability in respect of the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employment, functions, and honours, or the exercise of particular professions or industrial callings, in any place whatsoever. The liberty and public exercise of all forms of worship are guaranteed to all subjects of Montenegro, as well as to foreign residents, and no restraint may be put upon the ecclesiastical organization of the several communions, or upon their relations with their spiritual superiors.—No one may be deprived of his property except by the action of the law, on the ground of the public welfare, and then only upon previous payment of an indemnity."

Religion and Education (the latter free and compulsory) are well organized. The Church belongs to the Greek Orthodox (Oriental) communion, under control of the Holy Synod at St. Petersburg.

The Revenue is estimated at about £60,000, of which the Prince receives about £4,000. Public Debt, nearly £200,000.

MOROCCO.

The Sultanate of Morocco (capitals, Morocco and Fez) occupies the north-west of Africa, opposite to the coast of Spain, and extends westward from the French dependency of Algeria to the Atlantic.

Area, including the south-eastern province of Twat, about 250,000 square miles. Population, about 5,000,000, chiefly Moors, Arabs, Jews, and negroes.

Very little is known of the Government. The Sultan, or Sherif, has six chief ministers, of whom the first is his vizier; but his authority is practically autocratic and unlimited.

The religion of the country is Mahomedan, based on the Koran and the commentary of Sidi Bokhari; but the organization of the hierarchy and of the laws is not so advanced as in Turkey.

The Sultan is said to be aiming at the extension of his frontier southwards, along the coast, and as far as the city of Timbuctoo. His policy is very exclusive, especially as regards the European nations. Nevertheless the trade of the country with Europe has nearly doubled within the last five years.

Spain claims a priority of influence in Morocco, as compared with other European Powers. In 1883 the Sultan granted her a strip of territory, Santa Cruz de Mar

Pequeña, at the mouth of the Yfnu river; and he has since been asked to consent to the erection of a lighthouse on the small island of El Peregil.

1887. In August, 1887, the Sultan of Morocco requested the Spanish Government to point out to the Great Powers the existence of certain grievances which were deeply felt by the people of Morocco, and to invite them to renew the Conference which was held at Madrid in 1880. The Conference in question was attended by representatives of Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Sweden and Norway, the United States, and Morocco. The main point at issue, then and now, so far as Morocco is concerned, is the demand of the Sultan for the abolition or modification of the system by which foreign residents in the country, or even natives who have taken steps to obtain a foreign citizenship, are taken out of the jurisdiction of the government of Morocco, and made *protégés* of one or other of the foreign agents. In 1880 France declined to listen to any proposal for the restriction of the power of its agents, and the Conference led to no practical result. The renewal of the Sultan's complaint happens to coincide in point of time with the raising of the question of capitulations in several other countries. Spain has sent out her invitations to the Conference, which was appointed to meet in Madrid early in 1888.

THE NETHERLANDS (HOLLAND).

The Constitutional Kingdom of Holland (capital, Amsterdam) occupies the low coast of Europe at the mouths

of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Ems. It has Belgium (which see) on the south and the German Empire (Westphalia and Hanover) on the east, and looking across the North Sea it faces the mouth of the Thames. Its connection with Luxemburg was severed in 1867, by the Treaty of London; but the crowns are hereditary in the same family.

The Area and Population are indicated in the following table:—

Provinces.	Square Miles.	Population, 1885.
North Holland	1,070	773,539
South Holland	1,166	896,505
Zealand	690	196,373
Utrecht	534	209,332
North Brabant	1,980	495,276
Guelderland	1,965	496,538
Friesland	1,282	333,435
Overysse	1,201	238,890
Groningen	790	268,198
Drenthe	1,030	125,792
Limburg	850	252,134
	12,648	4,336,012

The average density in 1885 was therefore 343 to the square mile. It is now probably as high as 360; and in the province of South Holland it must approach 800. One-third of the population is contained in the fifteen largest towns.

GOVERNMENT.

The Government of Holland has seen momentous changes since the United Provinces of the eighteenth century were converted into the Batavian Republic in 1795.

During the whole of the revolutionary epoch in France, down to 1814, the Netherlands followed in great measure the fortunes of their powerful neighbour. In 1806 they were formed into a kingdom, and in 1810 they were annexed to the French Empire. In 1813 Prince William Frederick of Orange-Nassau returned in the wake of the Allied Armies, and in 1814 he consulted the liberal tendencies of the people by promulgating a Constitution. This "Grondwet" was adopted by an Assembly of Notables; but in the following year, after the union of Holland and Belgium, and the assumption of the royal title by the Prince, it received its first revision. The Commission which effected the necessary alterations was composed equally of Belgians and Dutch, but a large Assembly of Belgian Notables eventually rejected it. After Belgium had secured her independence, the Dutch Constitution was revised for the second time; and in 1848 a long series of amendments was introduced. The text as it then stood is briefly analysed below. (But see *Netherlands*, 1887.)

The First Chapter deals with "the kingdom and its inhabitants." All residents, native or foreign, are guaranteed in the possession of their property and personal rights. Only citizens can hold civil appointments, but all inhabitants may give public expression to their thoughts, and associate in lawful manner. Individually-signed petitions may be presented to the authorities, but a collective signature to a petition is only permitted to legally constituted and recognized bodies, and then only as bearing on their wishes in respect to their assigned functions.

The Second Chapter treats of the succession to the throne, the revenue of the Crown, the guardianship of the King, his coronation and power, the Council of State, and

the ministerial departments. The Crown may pass to a female, and to her husband. In default of heirs, the States-General, elected in double number, and sitting together, would have the right of selection. The civil list is now fixed at 600,000 florins, the Crown lands being restored to the State. The King and the heir apparent are not personally liable to taxation, but the exemption extends no further. The Prince of Orange and the queen-dowager also draw revenues from the State. Guardians are appointed for the heir apparent in prospect of a minority. Each guardian, before he can exercise his functions, must take oath or make a promise before the two Chambers of the States-General united, at the instance of the president, in the following form:—"I swear (promise) fidelity to the King. I swear (promise) to discharge religiously all the duties which the guardianship imposes upon me, and to set myself especially to inspire the King with attachment to the Constitution, and with love for his people. So help me God Almighty!"

During a minority, or in case of the inability of the King to govern, a regent is appointed by the States-General combined. The regent takes the following oath, in the same manner as the guardians:—"I swear (promise) fidelity to the King. I swear (promise) that in the exercise of regal authority, during the minority of the King (or, whilst the King shall continue to be unable to govern) I will ever observe and maintain the Constitution of the realm. I swear (promise) to defend and preserve to the best of my power the independence and integrity of the territory of the realm; to protect public and individual liberty, and the rights of all and each of the King's subjects, and to employ, towards the maintenance and advancement of the public

and private well-being, all the means which the laws provide, as a good and faithful regent is bound to do. So help me, &c." When the Prince of Orange has completed his eighteenth year, he succeeds to the throne, or becomes regent, as the case may be.

The King on his accession takes as soon as may be, before the combined States-General, the following oath:—"I swear (promise) to defend and preserve with all my power the independence and territorial integrity of the realm; to protect the public and individual liberty and the rights of all my subjects, and to employ, towards the maintenance and advancement of the public and private well-being, all the means which the laws provide, as a good King is bound to do. So help me, &c." Whereupon the president and all the members make the following oath or promise:—"In the name of the people of the Netherlands, and by virtue of the Constitution, we receive and inaugurate you as King; we swear (promise) to maintain your inviolability and the rights of your Crown; we swear (promise) to do all that good and] faithful States-General are required to do. So help us, &c."

The King is inviolable, but his Ministers are responsible. The executive power belongs to the King, and he has the general direction of foreign relations. He declares war, forthwith informing the Chambers, with such communications as he deems compatible with the security of the State. He makes and ratifies treaties of peace, and other treaties, with foreign Powers, imparting their terms to the Chambers as soon as he considers that the interests and security of the State allow. But treaties involving the cession or exchange of territory in any part of the world, or any arrangement or modification touching public rights

established by law, cannot be ratified without the previous consent of the Chambers. The King is commander-in-chief, and regulates promotion; but pensions are regulated by law. The King has the supreme administration of the colonies and foreign dependencies: but the local regulations are fixed by law. (There is in effect a law of 1854 determining the government of the Dutch East Indies. A law of 1868 introduced a new administration, and five legal codes, for Guiana and Curaçao.*) The king supplies the States-General with an annual detailed report of the administration and condition of these colonies and dependencies. The law regulates the administration and control of colonial finance.

The King has the supreme direction of the State finance. He fixes the salaries of all bodies and functionaries paid by the State; but the salaries of the judges are fixed by law. The King confers rank and titles; he has the right of pardon, in minor cases after taking the advice of the judge, in other cases after consulting the High Court. Amnesty and the repeal or dispensation of laws can only be effected by a law. In case of dispute between two or several Provinces, the King decides it, when he cannot amicably adjust it. He can initiate measures in the States-General, and sanctions or rejects the resolutions of the Chambers. He has the power of dissolving the Chambers, together or severally. New Chambers must be elected within forty days, and must meet within two months.

The Council of State (which now includes fifteen members) is nominated by the King. The Prince of Orange takes his seat, with a consultative voice, at the age of eighteen. The King submits to the Council the measures

* *Dareste, Constitutions Modernes.*

which he desires to initiate in the Chambers, and the resolutions presented to him by them, as well as all general measures for the internal administration of the kingdom, and of its colonies and dependencies. At the head of all laws and ordinances requiring promulgation, mention is made of the fact that the Council has been consulted. The King constitutes ministerial departments, and appoints or removes their heads. The ministerial heads of department (who now number eight) see to the carrying out of the Constitution and other laws, so far as it depends on the Crown to carry it out. Their responsibility is regulated by law. All decisions and acts of the King are countersigned by one of the ministerial heads of Departments.

The Third Chapter treats of the States-General, which represent the people, and are divided into a first and a second Chamber. "The members of the second (more popular) Chamber are chosen in the electoral districts into which the realm is divided, by the native Dutch inhabitants, in full enjoyment of their civil and political rights, and paying in direct taxes an amount determined by the electoral law, in accordance with local circumstances, but not less than 20 florins nor more than 160 florins. The number of members of the second Chamber is determined according to population, in the ratio of 1 to 45,000 inhabitants." The rating qualification in 1887 was at the minimum, £1 2s., in about 500 communes, and at the maximum, about £6 2s. 6d., in the capital.

The ministerial heads of Departments may sit in both Chambers. If not members of one or the other, they have only a consultative voice. They give the Chambers, orally or in writing, the explanations demanded, so that these are not judged contrary to the interest and security

of the realm, or its colonies and dependencies. The second Chamber has the right of inquiry, as established by law. Members of the States-General cannot be at the same time members of the High Court, or Attorney-General, or members of the Board of Accounts, or royal commissioners in the Provinces, or ecclesiastics or ministers of religion. Officers elected to either Chamber cease to be on active service whilst they continue to be members. Presiding officers are not eligible in their own districts. Members of the States-General accepting office with a salary, or promoted to a higher office, must seek re-election. Members cannot be put on their trial for opinions expressed in the Chambers.

The States-General meet once a year, on the third Monday in September. The King may summon them in extraordinary session when he thinks fit. The sittings are public, but they may take place with closed doors when one-tenth of the members demand it, or when the president sees fit. The Chambers must meet without summons on the fifteenth day after the decease or abdication of the King. The session is opened or closed by the King or by his commission. The ordinary session extends over at least twenty days, unless previously dissolved. More than one-half of the members of each Chamber must be present in order to admit of deliberation or of resolution. All resolutions are by absolute majority of votes; and if the voting is equal the discussion is adjourned. If the equality of votes is maintained, the proposal is rejected. Votes are taken orally; but in case of elections, by closed and signed papers.

The legislative power is exercised in common by the King and the States-General. The King forwards his pro-

posals to the second Chamber in a written message, containing the grounds of each proposal, or else by means of a commission. The full Chamber does not consider a proposal of the King's until it has been examined in the various sections into which the Chamber is divided—which sections are renewed by lot at stated periods. The second Chamber may amend the King's proposals. When the Chamber adopts a proposal, with or without amendments, it forwards it with a recommendation to the first Chamber ; but in case of rejection it informs the King of that fact in the following formula :—“ The second Chamber of the States-General attests its gratitude for the zeal which the King manifests in studying the welfare of the realm, and respectfully prays him to take the proposal into further consideration.” The first Chamber considers the measures forwarded to it as above mentioned, and reports its action to the King or to the second Chamber, according to circumstances.

The initiative of all measures originating in the States-General belongs exclusively to the second Chamber. When it has considered a measure and adopted it, it forwards it to the first Chamber with the following declaration :—“ The second Chamber of the States-General forwards the annexed measure to the first Chamber, and is of opinion that the States-General should request the sanction of the King for this measure.” Such request is made in the following form :—“ The States-General, considering that the annexed proposal would contribute to and advance the interests of the realm, respectfully request for this proposal the sanction of the King.” If the first Chamber rejects a measure, it informs the second Chamber of the fact as follows :—“ The first Chamber of the States-General has not seen adequate

reason to submit to the King the proposal which it herewith returns." The King, on receiving a measure from the States-General, replies—"The King approves of the proposal," or "The King will consider the proposal." The mode of promulgation is as follows:—"We . . . King of the Netherlands . . . to all who shall see or hear these presents, greeting! We make known:—Having taken into consideration. . . . Therefore, Our Council of State having been heard, and in accord with the States-General, We have determined and ordered, as we do now determine and order by these presents . . . "

The Fourth Chapter treats of the States-Provincial and the communal administration. Members of the States Provincial are elected for six years, by direct election of the inhabitants, on the same franchise as that fixed for the second Chamber of the States-General. They are renewed by halves every three years. No one can be at the same time a member of the States-General and Provincial, nor of the Assemblies of more than one Province. Members take an oath of fidelity to the Constitution. The Provincial Assemblies submit annually to the King such part of their expenditure as may be of a general administrative character, and this is accounted for in the national budget. The budget of purely local revenue and expenditure is likewise presented for the royal sanction. The local taxes must receive the same sanction. The Assemblies are responsible for the execution of the laws and royal ordinances which relate to the general administration within the provinces. Their powers are delegated by law, and all their acts require the royal assent. They are charged with the duty of maintaining freedom of transit through every Province, and from one to another. Each Provincial

Assembly elects a committee responsible for the daily administration of affairs, whether the Assembly is sitting or not. A royal commissioner is appointed in each Province, who presides in the Assembly and in the committee.

At the head of each commune there is a Council, whose members are chosen by direct election. The President, who need not be a member, is nominated by the King. The rating qualification of electors is one-half of that for electors to the States-General. The Council administers the affairs of the Commune, subject to the revision of the Provincial Assembly and to the approval of the Crown. The same limitations are placed on the control of communal property, and the local receipts and expenditure.

The Fifth Chapter treats of the administration of justice. "No man may be deprived of his property except on the ground of public utility, and after indemnification. A law must declare beforehand that public utility requires the expropriation," unless it be for the construction of fortifications, the construction, maintenance, and repair of dykes, or in the case of epidemics. No man may be arrested without a warrant signed by a judge, and containing the reasons for the arrest. Whosoever executes a warrant must forthwith report the fact to the nearest judge, and produce the arrested person in court within three days. No domiciliary visit may be made without a warrant to that effect, executed in conformity with the laws. The secrecy of the post is inviolable. No crime may be punished by confiscation of goods.

To these general juridical principles there are certain exceptions laid down by law. There are three Codes, Civil (Roman-Dutch), Commercial, and Criminal (the latter

adopted in 1881). There are also laws establishing civil and penal procedure, and judiciary organization.

The High Court (*Hooge Raad*) is renewed from time to time by the King, who supplies each vacancy from a list of five persons nominated by the second Chamber. The King also nominates the President and Attorney-General. Members of the States-General, the ministerial heads of departments, Governors-General, or persons exercising powers corresponding to these in the colonies and dependencies, members of the Council of State and royal commissioners in the provinces, may be prosecuted before the High Court in the King's name, or on the order of the second Chamber. The same Court takes cognizance of all actions brought against the King, royal family, or State, except actions in respect of real property, which are tried before the ordinary judge. It is also the supreme Court of Appeal. All judges are appointed for life, during good behaviour.

The Sixth Chapter treats of Public Worship. It guarantees freedom and equal rights to all religious communions, and equal civil rights to all their adherents.

The Seventh Chapter treats of finances. All taxation must be by virtue of law, and there must be no exemptions. The Constitution guarantees the public debt. There is a Board of Accounts, the composition and functions whereof are settled by a law; vacancies being supplied in the same manner as in the High Court.

The Eighth Chapter deals with National Defence.

The Ninth Chapter deals with the "*Waterstaat*." The responsibility for the general administration of matters concerning the defence of the land against the sea, the dykes, dunes, quays, levees, streams, and their banks,

bridges, dams, canals, reservoirs, &c., rests ultimately on the courts of law. The States-Provincial control the administration in each Province.

The Tenth Chapter treats of Public Instruction, which is declared to be the "constant concern of the Government." Primary education is provided gratuitously for all, due respect being paid to religious convictions. A detailed annual report of the condition of higher, secondary, and primary schools is presented to the States-General.

The relief of the poor is also declared to be the "constant concern of the Government."

The Eleventh Chapter declares that amendments to the Constitution, adopted in the form of laws, must be followed by a dissolution; and a majority of two-thirds in the new Chambers is necessary to the ratification of the amendment.

There are five ordinary Courts of Justice subordinate to the Hoge Raad; twenty-three District Courts in the provinces and large towns, and a Court of First Instance in each commune.

The Education clauses of the Constitution assumed their present liberal form at a comparatively late period, and the statistics, in consequence, have rapidly improved. By an Act of 1878, the communes bear seven-tenths of the cost of public elementary education, and a subsequent Act has further limited the State grants to little more than one-quarter.

The greater number of inhabitants (about 2,650,000), as well as the royal family, belong to the Protestant (Presbyterian) communion; about 1,500,000 are Roman Catholics, and 85,000 Jews.

The Revenue in the budget of 1887 was estimated at

about £9,691,000, and the Expenditure at £11,119,000. The greater part of the revenue is derived from excise and indirect and direct taxation. The Public Debt in the same year was £91,463,679.

DEPENDENCIES OF HOLLAND.

The Colonial Possessions of Holland are—

In the East Indies.—Java, Madura, Sumatra, Benkulen, Lampongs, Palembang, Atjeh, Ridu, Banca, Billiton, Borneo, Celebes, Menado, Molucca, Timor, Sumba, Bali, Lombok, New Guinea (part of); and Goa. Area, 719,674 square miles. Population, about 30,000,000.

In the West Indies.—Curaçao, Aruba, St. Martin, Bonaire, St. Eustache, Saba. Area, 403 square miles. Population, about 45,000.

In South America.—Surinam (Guiana). Area, 46,060 square miles. Population, about 57,000.

The total area is 766,137 square miles, or more than sixty times the area of the mother country; whilst the population is more than seven times as numerous as that of Holland.

The Dutch Colonies are governed on a system corresponding to that of the British Crown Colonies. Thus the Governor-General of the East Indies (assisted by a Consultative Council of five members) has the power of making laws and ordinances, so far as the right of legislation is not reserved to the States-General (see Chapter 2 of the Constitution). Java, the most valuable of these colonies, is governed by twenty-two Residents, with Assistant-Residents and Controllers, who are appointed after examination. There are also native collectors, paid by the Government. Slavery in general was abolished (with

compensation) in 1863 ; but there is still a system of forced native labour in Java.

The colonial budget shows a slight deficit, against which is to be set a considerable private trade, and the employment of a large number of civil servants. The revenue in 1887 was estimated at £11,073,000.

LUXEMBURG.

The Treaty of London (1867) and the Constitution adopted in 1868 declare the Grand Duchy to be indivisible, inalienable, and neutral for ever ; and the same instruments make the succession to the Crown hereditary in the family of Nassau.

The King Grand Duke has the power of nominating a Viceroy of the royal blood, to represent him in the discharge of his executive functions. He has also a Council of State, and a Ministerial Council, the latter being responsible to the Chamber, and liable to be called before the Chamber, though not being members.

The Chamber of Deputies is elected by manhood suffrage, with a limit of age fixed at twenty-five years. The number of members must not exceed one for every 4,000 of the population, nor be less than one for every 5,500. Since the year 1878 there have been 42 members. The electoral term is six years, and the Chamber is renewed by halves every three years. Members residing outside the town of Luxemburg receive five francs daily, from the State funds. Area, 998 square miles. Population, about 220,000.

The following changes were made in the representative system of the Netherlands by the **1887.**

late revision of the Constitution, which came into effect in November, 1887.

The first Chamber of the States-General is to consist of fifty members, instead of thirty-nine. The members are to be elected, as hitherto, by the Provincial States, but the latter are to rest upon a broader popular suffrage. The restrictions with respect to the property qualification of members have also been to some extent removed, and persons having held certain important posts in the public service are made eligible as members, who were not so before. The members are to be elected for nine years, at the expiration of which the whole number goes out, and a fresh general election takes place. Previous to the revision the members were elected for nine years, but the Chamber was renewed by means of a partial re-election (of one-third) of its members every three years.

The second Chamber of the States-General is to consist of a fixed number of one hundred members, instead of—as previously—one member for every 45,000 of the inhabitants of the kingdom. The members are to be elected for four years, all going out together, instead of one-half every two years. Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, and Groningen are to return respectively nine, five, three, two, two members; all the other constituencies (seventy-nine in number) one member each. Until the recent change the electoral franchise depended on the payment of a certain amount annually in direct taxes, that amount varying from twenty florins in the smaller and less wealthy electoral districts to one hundred and twelve florins in the largest towns.

The revised Constitution only lays down the following qualifications for the electoral franchise—that the elector be of the male sex, a Netherlands subject, and not less than

twenty-three years of age ; and it leaves all other qualifications to be decided by ulterior legislation. The qualifications provisionally decided upon for the election, early in the year 1888, of the Chamber which will finally determine the electoral franchise are of a very varied character, and need not be given in detail. They will, however, have the effect of greatly enlarging the electorate. With the present population of about four millions there were, under the unrevised Constitution, about 180,000 electors for the second Chamber of the States-General and for the Provincial States, with about 220,000 for the Communal Councils. It is estimated that under the provisional franchise the number of electors will be increased to about 350,000, all of whom will have a vote for the Parliamentary, the Provincial, and the Communal elections, the franchise being the same for all three.

PERSIA.

The Absolute Monarchy of Persia (capital, Teheran) occupies a compact territory between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. It is also bounded on the north by Russia, on the west by Turkey, and on the east by Baluchistan and Afghanistan.

Area, 628,000 square miles. Population, about 7,650,000 (in 1881). Of these 6,860,600 were computed as belonging to the prevalent Shiah category of Mahomedans, and 700,000 were Sunnis, or Turkish-Mahomedans. There were also 43,000 Armenians, besides Nestorians, Parsees, and Jews.

In Persia, as in other States where the monarchs contract polygamous marriages, with or without formal distinctions amongst the wives, the succession to the throne

is not hereditary through the eldest male descendants. In Turkey there is the recognized rule of seniority, including collateral branches. In Persia, Siam, and elsewhere, there is the right of selection, vested in the monarch or the dynastic family.

The Shah (Shah-in-Shah) governs through individual ministers, eight or ten in number, who control the Departments of War, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Customs, Public Domains, the Mint, Public Instruction, Mines, Telegraphs, Posts, the Press, Arts, and Trade. The Minister of War is now (1887) Kamram Mirza, the Shah's third son.

There are seven Governors of Provinces, three of whom are sons of the Shah. Governor of Azerbaidjan—Mouzafer ed-Din, heir apparent. Governor of Ispahan, Khonsar, Yezd, Irak, Burudjird, Luristan, Arabistan, Kurdistan. Bachtiar, Chunsar—Massoud Mirza, the Zil-es-Sultan, second son of the Shah. Governor of Teheran, Gilan, Mazenderan, Astrabad, Kachan, Goum, Sareh, Malajir, Nehavend, Serend, Tusirkan, Firuskuh—Kamran Mirza. The other four provinces, making twenty-seven in all, are Khorassan, Khamseh, Kaswin, and Hamadan.

The Governors of Ispahan and Teheran appoint lieutenant-governors for the separate provinces, and kalantars, or magistrates, of the towns. They are assisted by vizirs and other officers. The sheiks of the Arab tribes are answerable to the Governors for the contributions of their tribes to the public treasury.

The organization of the priesthood is much the same as in Turkey. The Sheik-ul-Islam is an officer of State; and under him are the ulema, the mufti, and the ordinary priests, or mollahs. The Imam is also a State officer. A higher order of the muftis are called mouchtahids, or

chief-priests, of whom there is one or more in every town, learned in the interpretation of the law.

Education, as in the more settled provinces of Turkey, is fairly provided for by the State. Under the departments of Public Instruction and Art there are literary colleges, elementary schools, military and technical schools.

The art of government in Persia, as in Turkey, consists of little more than the collection of taxes and the exaction of obedience to the laws of the Koran. The customs are farmed out, and the gross amount levied is something over £300,000. The total amount of the Revenue and Expenditure is not made public.

PORTUGAL.

The Constitutional Kingdom of Portugal (capital, Lisbon) occupies the western extremity of the Iberian peninsula of Europe, the coast extending between the mouths of the Minho and Guadiana rivers. The boundary dividing Portugal from Spain (*which see*) is only at its extremities natural.

The Area and Population are indicated in the following table :—

Provinces and Districts.	Square Miles.	Population.
MINHO-E-DOURO—Vianna, Braga, Porto	2,807	1,075,000
TRAS-OS-MONTES—Villa Real, Braganza	4,293	430,000
BEIRA—Aneiro, Castello Branco, Coimbra, Guarda, Vizeu	9,248	1,450,000
ESTREMADURA—Leiria, Lisbon, Santarem	6,876	1,000,000
ALENTEJO—Beja, Evora, Portalegre ..	9,421	885,000
ALGARVE (Kingdom of)	1,873	215,000
Azores and Madeira	1,510	420,000
Total	36,028	4,975,000

GOVERNMENT.

The connection with Spain between 1580 and 1640 was very disastrous for Portugal. She recovered her independence only to find that some of her best colonies had been taken from the hands of their temporary guardian; and she recovered it also to realize that her former elasticity and instincts of government were gone. The momentary revival which followed the liberation of 1640 encouraged the Estates to affirm the authority of the old laws of Lamego, and to summon the Cortes; but the effort was not long sustained. During a century and a half the Cortes rarely met. In 1820, after a prolonged absence of King John VI. in Brazil, the Portuguese people took affairs into their own hands, and proclaimed a Constitution on the basis of the Spanish project of 1812. The King accepted this charter in 1821, but withdrew his consent in 1824, and attempted to satisfy his subjects with the Lamego laws. On his death, two years later, his son, Pedro IV., Emperor of Brazil, assumed the crown, granted a "Carta Constitucional," and abdicated in favour of his daughter Maria. Usurpation, civil war, and numerous insurrections followed; but the Charter of 1826, which was based on the Constitution of Brazil (see p. 400) remains the fundamental law of the country. It was revised in 1852, and again in 1878 and 1885.

The Charter sets out with the following declarations:—
"The Kingdom of Portugal is the political association of all Portuguese citizens. They constitute a free and independent nation. The territory of the Kingdom of Portugal and of the Algarves includes—1. In Europe—the Kingdom of Portugal, which is composed of the provinces of Minho,

of *Tras-os-Montes*, *Beira*, *Estremadura*, *Alem-Tejo*, the kingdom of *Algarve* and the adjacent isles, *Madeira*, *Porto-Santo*, and the *Azores*. 2. In West Africa—*Bissan* and *Cacheu*; on the *Mina* coast, *Fort St. John de Ajuda*, *Angola*, *Benguela*, and its dependencies, *Molembo*, the *Cape Verd Islands*, the *Islands of St. Thomas*, *del Principe*, and their dependencies; on the eastern coast, *Mozambique*, *Rio de Senna*, *Sofalla*, *Inhambane*, *Quelimane*, and the islands of *Cape Delgado*. 3. In Asia—*Salsete*, *Bardez*, *Goa*, *Damao*, *Diu*, the establishments of *Macao* and of the isles of *Solor* and *Timor*. The nation does not abandon its rights over any other territory in these three parts of the world, though it may not be comprised in the foregoing article. The government of the nation is monarchical, hereditary, and representative."

The *Cortes* are made up of the *Chamber of Peers* and the *Chamber of Deputies*. With respect to the former we are witnessing at this moment in Portugal the progress of an experiment which has been suggested in other countries, but not actually carried out in practice. The revision of 1878 authorized the King to appoint life peers; the revision of 1885 provided for the eventual conversion of a hereditary into a representative upper Chamber. It was enacted in 1878 that life peers might be created by the King amongst twenty different categories, corresponding in some measure with the categories named in the Italian Constitution, and more than a hundred have been created in virtue of this law. By the Act of 1885 the life peers nominated by the Crown are to be reduced to a hundred, the right of nomination being for the present reduced to one after every third vacancy. Fifty additional life peers are selected from the same categories—5 by the University of *Coimbra* and

the chief learned Societies, and the remainder by the nineteen administrative districts—namely, 4 by Lisbon, 3 by Oporto, and 2 by each of the others. The hereditary peers living on July 25, 1885, and their immediate successors, retained their legislative functions, but upon the decease of the last of these the Chamber will assume its definitive form, and nobles will then sit only in the event of their being elected for life.

The Chamber of Deputies is elected by ninety-six electoral districts, returning 149 members. The franchise is almost universal, more than one-sixth of the population being registered as voters. The sole qualifications are that a man shall be of age, able to read or write, and earning by regular employment, or possessing, about 8s. 6d. a week. Candidates must have an income of about four times this amount; and they are paid at the rate of about 10s. a day during the continuance of the session. General elections to this Chamber are held every four years.

As the Portuguese Constitution is in its general features and in the great majority of its (original) details identical with that of Brazil, it will suffice to refer to what has already been said (pages 401–9) on the powers of the monarch, the judiciary power, and the guarantees of civil rights.

The organization of the district, communal, and parochial administration has been provided for in a separate Act, passed in 1878.

Education Education is nominally compulsory, unde-
and nominationnal, and free; but the system is not
Religion. fully enforced. The pupils in public elementary
 chools number about 180,000, whilst the number of school
 age must approach 700,000. There are about 80 public
 schools of higher grades, and one university—that of

Coimbra. The amount voted for education in 1887 was about £204,800.

The Roman Catholic religion is established, and endowed by the State. The Church is governed by the Patriarch of Lisbon, two archbishops, and nineteen bishops. All other forms of worship are tolerated.

The Revenue in 1887 was estimated at **Revenue,**
£7,425,000, and the Expenditure at £8,475,000. **&c.**

The regular deficits are met by loans, and the Public Debt exceeds £115,000,000.

PORTUGUESE DEPENDENCIES.

The area of the Dependencies (as mentioned in the Constitutional Charter) exceeds 500,000 square miles. Adding the recent acquisitions in Africa, north of the Congo, the total area is more than twelve times that of the mother country. The population is comparatively sparse, not exceeding three millions. None of the Portuguese colonies is very important. The aggregate Revenue is about £675,000, which is considerably exceeded by the Expenditure; and their annual exports are something over £3,000,000.

For Macao Portugal paid tribute to China up to the year 1840, when she declined to make further payment. An amicable understanding on the subject was arrived at between the two countries in 1887.

Some value is attached to the possession of the Delagoa Bay territory, owing to its proximity to the settled countries of Natal and the Transvaal, and to its alleged mineral resources. Portugal may be expected either to develop or to sell it; and in this connection it must be remembered that when Marshal Macmahon, as arbitrator, assigned the

territory to Portugal in 1875, Portugal agreed that, in the event of her desiring to part with it, she would make the first offer to Great Britain.

ROUMANIA.

The Constitutional Kingdom of Roumania (capital, Bucharest) occupies the angle of territory between the Carpathians, the Danube, and the Pruth. It has the Empire of Austria on the west and north, the Kingdom of Servia on the west, the Principality of Bulgaria on the south, and the Empire of Russia on the east.

Area, 48,307 square miles—of which Wallachia contains 27,500, Moldavia 16,604, and the Dobrudscha 4,203. Population, about 5,500,000—of which number the Dobrudscha has 107,000; no recent census having been taken of the older territories. The population is very mixed, including about 400,000 Jews, 200,000 Bohemians, 10,000 Slavs, 40,000 Germans, 30,000 Hungarians, as well as Armenians, Greeks, "Gipsies," and other Europeans. The Roumanians are of Latin origin, and their language betrays its source by its etymology, if not by its syntax. The number of Roumanians, or neo-Latins, in south-eastern Europe (throughout the original area of European Turkey) has been computed at about eight millions.

Wallachia and Moldavia became tributary Principalities of Turkey under the treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, and they remained under the influence and protection of Russia until the Treaty of Paris in 1856. In 1857 a National Assembly put forward a "Declaration of Four Points," demanding autonomy, union, a foreign prince, and representative institutions. A Conference at Paris in the following year offered the people two princes, and both Wallachia and

Moldavia thereupon elected the same ruler. The Porte then authorized the union (1861); and soon afterwards Roumania set up a Senate and a Council of State. In 1866, after a revolution, Prince Charles of Hohenzollern was elected by popular vote, a Constituent Assembly was summoned, and the existing Constitution was adopted.

The Treaty of Berlin in 1878 made Roumania independent, restored to Russia a strip of Bessarabia which had been taken from her in 1856, compensated Roumania with the Dobrudscha, and at the same time required her adhesion to the formula of religious toleration imposed upon Montenegro and Bulgaria (see pages 503 and 593). In 1881 Roumania became a kingdom, and, King Charles being childless, the succession was settled upon his nephew, Prince Ferdinand.

GOVERNMENT.

The principal features of the Constitution of 1866, as revised in 1884, are as follows :—

There are sundry restrictions upon naturalization, but the more exclusive amongst them have been abrogated. The national religion is that of the Orthodox Greek Church, under the control of a Synod, metropolitan, and diocesan bishops. Education is free and compulsory (though not very systematic). Free expression of opinion is guaranteed; and press offences are tried with a jury. “Neither the censure nor any other preventive measure against the appearance, sale, or distribution of any publication whatever shall be established. The publication of a journal is not subject to any previous authorization. No security shall be exacted from journalists, writers, publishers, printers, or lithographers. The press shall never be subject to a system of warnings. No journal or publication can be

suspended or suppressed. The author is responsible for his writings; in default of the author, the editor or the publisher is responsible." The right of meeting is guaranteed, subject to the police regulations (laws); and the extradition of political refugees is forbidden.

The legislative power is exercised by the sovereign, the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies. Members of the two Chambers (*Adunari*) represent the nation, not the electoral districts. The general legislative system is on the French model, with bureaux, interpellations, occasional union of the Chambers, vote by rising and sitting, or by ballot. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 178 members, who must be twenty-five years of age, native or naturalized, elected every four years. All taxpayers of full age have the franchise. There are three colleges of electors in each electoral district—(1) owners of property worth not less than £47 a year (100 ducats); (2) all who pay a tax not less than £1 3s. 4d. (80 piastres) annually, professional men, retired officers, pensioners of the State, and those who have passed through the primary schools; (3) all other enfranchised voters, including illiterates. Members receive a moderate allowance for their expenses during the session.

The Senate has 120 members, who must be forty years of age, native or naturalized Roumanians, resident in the country, and in receipt of an income of about £376 (800 ducats). They are elected for eight years by two Colleges in each electoral district. The first College includes owners of estates in the provinces having an income of not less than £75 (160 ducats); the second comprises urban proprietors having a like income; but if the number does not reach one hundred in any town, that number is made

up from the proprietors whose incomes come next in order of magnitude. Each College in each electoral district returns one senator. The Universities of Jassy and Bucharest send each one senator, elected by the professors. The heir-apparent, and the metropolitans and bishops, are members of the Senate without election. Senators receive a small allowance for their expenses during the session.

“On the 15th of November in each year the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate meet without summons, if the sovereign has not previously called them together. The duration of each session is three months. On the opening of the session the sovereign sets forth the condition of the country in a message, to which the Chambers submit a reply. . . . He has the right of dissolving the Chambers, together or separately. The act of dissolution must call the electors together within two months, and the Chambers within three months. The sovereign may adjourn the Chambers; but the adjournment may not exceed the term of one month, nor be renewed in the same session without the consent of the Chambers. The sovereign has no powers other than those assigned to him by the Constitution.”

The territory is divided into cantons (*judete*), the cantons into districts (*plasi*), and these again into communes. The cantons and communes are governed, so far as their exclusive local interests are concerned, by elective Councils. The cantons are presided over by prefects, and the communes by mayors, a civil court being established in each. There is a central High Court of Cassation and Justice. Trial by jury is practised in criminal causes, and for political and press offences.

The bulk of the population belongs to the Greek Church,

of which there are two metropolitan archbishops and six bishops. The Roman Catholics number about 120,000.

Education is nominally free and compulsory, but only about two per cent. of the total population attend the primary schools.

The Revenue and Expenditure in recent years have varied between £5,000,000 and £5,500,000. The Public Debt is about £29,000,000.

RUSSIA.

The Empire of all the Russias (capital, St. Petersburg)—whose monarch is described in the fundamental laws as “autocratic and absolute”—occupies the east of Europe and the whole north of Asia. The political boundaries of this vast dominion are (1) the Constitutional Kingdom of Sweden and Norway, (2) the Empire of Germany, (3) the Empire of Austria-Hungary, (4) the Kingdom of Roumania, (5) the Principality of Bulgaria, (7) the Turkish Province of Armenia, (8) the Monarchy of Persia, (9) the Monarchy of Afghanistan under British influence, and (10) the Empire of China.

The following table gives the area and population of the principal territories, as estimated in 1882-4 :—

	Square Miles.	Population.
Russia in Europe	1,902,092	77,879,521
Russian Poland	49,157	7,416,958
Grand-Duchy of Finland	144,255	2,176,421
Caucasia, North and South	182,505	6,531,855
Trans-Caspian Territory	390,000	710,000
Central Asia	1,151,515	5,101,354
Siberia	4,824,570	4,093,535
Total	8,644,094	103,912,642

These figures are only approximations, no complete census having been taken. The number of Jews in Russia is estimated at 3,000,000, and of Mahomedans 2,750,000. There are smaller numbers of Germans and other Europeans. The area of the Russian Empire, coming next to that of the British Empire, occupies about one-seventh of the land surface of the globe.

GOVERNMENT.

Though the Russian Empire is governed autocratically, there are a vast number of laws and imperial edicts on which the government is supposed to rest. Nicholas I. ordered the publication of the laws and ukases promulgated between 1649 and 1825, to the number of 36,000. In the eighteenth century a codification had been attempted by Catherine II., who assembled for that purpose a council, including representatives of all classes, races, and religions in the empire; but it was not until 1835 that the *Svod*, or Code, now in use, was authorized. It comprised 12,198 articles. Modifications were made from time to time, and ten supplements had been published up to the year 1881.

During the nineteenth century a series of ukases, about twelve in number, have established the administration and principal institutions of the country in their present form. In 1801, Alexander I. guaranteed the privileges of the nobility. In the following year he modified the administrative colleges of Peter the Great—the Ruling Senate and the Holy Synod. In 1810 the Council of the Empire was established. In 1816, 1817, and 1819, the peasantry of Esthonia, Courland, and Livonia were emancipated. In 1861 there was a general emancipation of the serfs, and the

mirs, or rural communes, were established; and at the same time the Committee of Ministers was appointed. In 1864 the present system of judicial administration was set up; and the same year saw the establishment of provincial and district administration, on a partially representative basis. Tentative municipal institutions were extended to the large towns of Russia proper in 1870-1. In 1874 and 1881 certain modifications of the rural administration were introduced; and in the past few years the tendency has been to diminish the liberties previously granted, and to return to the excessive centralization of former years. The chief ministers of the empire have gone so far as to propose that the emancipation of the serfs and the system of communal self-government should be revoked.

The ancient Kingdom of Poland was virtually partitioned by Russia, Austria, and Prussia in 1772. Courland was annexed by Russia in 1795; Posen by Prussia in 1793, and finally in 1815. In the latter year the central provinces were created into a Kingdom of Poland under Russian influence, and the Republic of Cracow was set up under the influence of Austria. In 1832 Russia annexed the kingdom, suppressing its ancient Constitution, and in 1846 Austria annexed the republic. These acts were met by protests from the Western Powers; but the gradual suppression of Polish liberties followed. In 1867 an imperial decree finally abolished the distinctive administration of the country.

The first volume of the Russian Svod, or Code, contains the fundamental laws of the empire, relating to the "sacred rights and prerogatives of the supreme autocratic power," and to the imperial family, together with the organic statutes of the empire. The first division of this volume,

which is printed in larger type than the rest of the Svod, is analysed below.*

“The Emperor of all the Russias is an autocratic and absolute monarch. God himself commands obedience to his supreme power, not through fear alone, but also by obligation of the conscience.” The fourth article declares the Crowns of Poland and Finland inseparable from that of Russia. After minute regulations as to the hereditary succession, regency, &c., the text continues :—“The pledge of fidelity to the new Emperor and his heir, whether the latter be named in the manifesto or not, is the subject of a public oath. Every man takes the oath according to the rites of the religion to which he belongs. The Ruling Senate, after causing the words of the oath to be printed in legal form, distributes it in a sufficient number of copies to the military and civil authorities, and communicates it to the Holy Synod, so that the like arrangements may be made by the latter. Every one takes the oath before the authority to which he is subordinated, in the cathedrals, monasteries, or parish churches. Such as are under arrest, if they have not been condemned to the loss of their rights, take the oath before the authority of the place wherein they are confined. They who belong to an unorthodox religion, if there be no church of their denomination within their place of residence, take the oath before the court of law, as administered by the judges. All who take the oath of allegiance, if they can write, sign the list whereon they are to figure as having sworn. The oath is taken by all subjects of the Emperor, being of the male sex, and having completed their twelfth year, whatever

* For a French version of the text, see *Les Constitutions Modernes*, Dareste, vol. ii.

their class or condition may be. After the accession to the throne follow the sacred coronation and consecration, according to the rites of the Orthodox Greco-Russian Church. . . . The religious ceremony of coronation and consecration takes place at Moscow, in the Cathedral of the Assumption, in presence of the higher administrative authorities and State functionaries, summoned for this purpose by the imperial command. The coronation of the Emperors of all the Russias and of the Kings of Poland takes place by one and the same religious ceremony; deputies of the Polish kingdom are summoned to take part in this solemnity, together with deputies from the other parts of the empire. The Emperor, before the completion of the religious ceremony, after the example of the ancient Christian sovereigns and of his glorious ancestors, recites aloud and in presence of his faithful subjects the creed of the Orthodox Catholic faith. Then, clothed in purple, and receiving the crown, sceptre, and imperial ball, he offers to the Sovereign Lord the prayer appointed for this purpose: that God will illuminate, instruct, and guide him in his high mission as Czar and Judge of the Empire of all the Russias; that the exalted wisdom which is the attribute of the Deity may assist him; that his heart may be in the hand of God; that everything may contribute to the welfare of the peoples intrusted to him, and to the glory of God; and that, finally, he may obtain favour in the day of judgment."

The next section declares the Eastern Orthodox Catholic Christian religion to be dominant in Russia, but affirms complete toleration of all other religions,* as defined in

* The Jews, however, do not fully enjoy the benefit of this general declaration.

detail in another volume of the *Svod*. The general principles of legislation are then laid down.

“The Government of the Russian Empire rests on the fixed foundation of positive laws, regulations, and *oustavs*, proceeding from the autocratic Power. The laws have force within the empire either uniformly and absolutely, or with partial modifications in different localities. The extent of these modifications, the localities in which they are applicable, and the relations which they bear to the general laws, are determined by special laws, ordinances, and *oustavs*. The first draft of a law is made on the initiative of the Emperor, and by his personal command; or it originates in the regular course of public business, when its discussion in the ruling Senate, the most holy Synod, or the administrative departments, indicates the necessity of interpreting or expanding an actual law, or of promulgating a new law. In the respective cases the authorities above mentioned submit their proposals to the decision of the Emperor, in conformity with the established procedure.”

Thus the legislative authorities, concurrently with the Emperor, are (1) the Council of the Empire, (2) the Ruling Senate, (3) the Committee of Ministers, and (4) the Emperor's Privy Council.

“First drafts of laws are considered by the Council of the Empire, and are then submitted for the Emperor's decision. They acquire their legal sanction only as emanating from the autocratic Power.” But measures taken for the execution of existing laws and ordinances, which do not modify existing laws, but only “remove the doubts or overcome the difficulties arising in their execution,” are not included in the designation of laws. They need not, therefore, be submitted to the Emperor; and as a matter

of fact it seems that the strict prerogatives of autocracy in the promulgation of defined laws have produced by a kind of counterpoise something like a despotic administrative authority in the Emperor's councillors and ministers. The interpretation of the laws, again, is an administrative, not a legal question. "In case of obscurity or inadequacy in the existing law, the various administrative authorities must refer the matter to the authority next above them in official rank. If the doubt is not solved by the text of the law, this authority must refer to the Ruling Senate or to the Department, according to circumstances.

"Laws are promulgated in the form of codes, *oustavs*, ordinances, letters patent, regulations, instructions, declarations, *ukases* (*oukaz*), admonitions from the Council of the Empire, and communications bearing the imperial signature. In matters of administration the pleasure of the Emperor is also declared by *rescripts* and orders. A new law has no force until it has received the imperial sign-manual. Injunctions framed in order to supplement and interpret a law, and intended only to indicate the manner of execution, or to establish the true significance of the law, may be promulgated in the form of 'notified' *ukases*, on the verbal order of the Emperor, by the authorities and persons who have received for such purpose full authority from the supreme Power." Such persons are the presidents of the Plenum of each department of the Council of the Empire, the imperial Chancellor of Foreign Affairs, the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the Orders, the ministers and heads of the principal administrative departments, the commanding officers of the imperial staff, senators, members of the Holy Synod and its Attorney-General, the Imperial Secretary, the Secretaries of

State, the Adjutants-General, the Quartermaster-General, when the Emperor is travelling, and in fine all who shall have received the Emperor's authority for this purpose. But the verbal orders of the Emperor can only be notified by such as have actual access to the presence of his Majesty.

"The general supervision of the laws is entrusted to the Ruling Senate. Therefore every legislative measure, even when it is embodied in an imperial rescript, specially addressed to any authority or person, must be transmitted by the said authority or person in a duplicate copy to the Ruling Senate." The Senate is enjoined to publish all general laws for the information of the public; and they are now regularly published in an official paper. They are then forwarded to the Holy Synod, and thence to the courts and authorities in the form of ukases. The ministers cannot act upon a law until they have received the ukase; and the same rule applies to the administrative authorities of the provincial governments.

A law has no force until the day of its formal promulgation, and its action cannot be retrospective, unless this is expressly provided in the text. Ignorance of the laws cannot be pleaded, and no individual in the country, native or foreign, is exempt from them. "The laws must be impartially administered, without respect to persons, and without regard to entreaties or solicitations. They must be executed in their exact and literal sense, without modification or extension. All authorities without exception, the highest authorities included, must in every case found their decisions upon the precise terms of the law, not changing a single letter, save on reference to his Majesty, and not lightly introducing any arbitrary interpretation."

But discretion is allowed as between two laws not in complete harmony.

“The legal force of imperial ukases notified on the verbal order of the Emperor is subject to the following restrictions: (1) no law bearing the sign-manual of his Majesty can be modified by a notified ukase; (2) notified ukases cannot be employed in matters concerning the life, honour, or fortune of citizens, or having reference to the establishment or abolition of taxes and fines due to the treasury, or to expenditure in excess of financial laws, to promotions in the order of nobility outside the regulated advancement in the *tchin*,* to the degradation of the nobility, or to the conferment or revocation of high rank.” A private ukase, applying to a particular case, has not the force of law unless it contains a distinct declaration that it applies to all similar cases in the future, and unless it has been regularly published.

“A definitive judgment in a particular trial has no legal force except for that trial.” It may be cited, but cannot “serve as a foundation for definitive judgments in analogous cases.” Judgments pronounced by the Cassation Department of the Ruling Senate, on appeal against former judgments, are to be printed by the Senate. An imperial ukase issued in a particular matter modifies the general law, but only in the case under consideration, or in similar cases. “Privileges conferred by the supreme autocratic Power on individuals or communities have the effect of

* The Russian bureaucracy, and the organization of Russian society below the court circles, are based on the comparatively recent institution of the *tchin*. In each branch of the civil and military services there are fourteen grades of artificial rank, which the holders, or *tchinovniks*, have come to regard as an aristocracy, lifting them above the general body of the people.

excluding them from the operation of the general laws in such respects as the privileges aforesaid may specifically determine."

On the reception in any province or government (*gubernii*) of a new general enactment, "the highest authority in this province may summon the Chambers (*palati*) in order to consider this enactment, in concert with the administrative authority; and if the new law shall appear to be defective on any point, in regard to local circumstances, it is in general permissible for these authorities to make unanimous reference to the Senate; but, in case of confirmation by the supreme Power, the law must be fully and reticently carried out. If the administrative authorities of a province discover in any *ukase* proceeding from the Ruling Senate a regulation contrary to the laws or interest of his imperial Majesty, these authorities must defer the execution of the *ukase*, and refer to the Ruling Senate; if the Senate find that the conclusions and observations transmitted to it are unfounded, and confirm its decision, then the latter must be reticently and fully carried out." So also in the case of departmental instructions, and their interpretation by subordinate officers—the local authorities refer to the department, and thence if necessary to the Senate, whose decision is final. Special laws made for a province or a class are not abrogated by new laws of general application.

"The administrative authority belongs in its entirety to the Emperor. The Emperor personally exercises the supreme executive power, subordinate administration being delegated by him in a fixed proportion to functionaries and authorities, acting in his name and according to his commands."

Such are the general principles on which the government of Russia is founded ; and though there are to be found in the Svod many reservations on behalf of the integrity of the law, it is clear that the Russian system is one of strict centralization, of which the motive power is either the despotic will of one man or the discretion of a virtually irresponsible bureaucracy.

The Czar. The Emperor of Russia, who is connected by marriage with the royal families of Denmark, Great Britain, Greece, and (more remotely) Germany, has a revenue from crown lands and mines which has been estimated at £2,450,000. An estate has recently been added in Murghab, Turkestan. He is assisted in his various political functions by a Privy Council, of which different sections deal with legislative initiation, appeals, charities, educational establishments specially controlled by the Emperor (including the education of girls), and other matters.

Council of the Empire. The Imperial Council includes five grand-dukes, all the Ministers, the highest court officials, twenty general officers and admirals, the Principal Secretaries of State, and a number of privy councillors, bringing up the total to about sixty. The *plenum* also includes the presidents and members of the Departments of Legislation, Home Affairs and Worship, and Finance. The main business of the Council is indicated by the names of these three Departments, and by what has been quoted from the Svod.

The Senate. It has been seen that the Senate is the highest judicial court of the empire, as well as the most important legislative body. It is presided over by the Minister of Justice, and its members are either attached to

the several Departments of the Senate or appointed for general consultation. The Departments are severally charged with legislation, administration, and examination of accounts; rural affairs (concerning the peasants); civil affairs; criminal affairs; surveys; heraldic and titular affairs. In its character as High Court of Cassation the Senate has three Departments or tribunals, dealing with civil, criminal, and disciplinary cases.

The Holy Synod, presided over by the metropolitan of Novgorod, St. Petersburg, and Finland, has six ordinary members and five heads of administrative Departments, to whom are added on occasion thirty-one bishops and archbishops of the provincial eparchies. Its principal functions have already been mentioned. It rules the Greco-Russian Church, but its administrative acts need the sign manual of the Emperor.

The Ministries are those of (1) the Imperial Household, with thirty high officials, connected chiefly with the various palaces and museums; (2) Foreign Affairs, (3) War, (4) Marine, (5) Interior and Public Worship (non-orthodox), (6) Public Instruction, (7) Finance, (8) Domains, (9) Roads and Works, (10) Control.

In all but the last three Departments there are many subordinate committees or officials.

It will be observed that the organization of departmental work is complicated, all the four institutions just enumerated having branches of administration under their charge, with no common controlling head except the Emperor—though the Board of Control partially supplies this want.

Subordinate to the Minister of the Interior are (1) the military Governor-Generals of the Caucasus, Varsovia and the Vistula governments, (2) the Local Administration of the provinces.

Eastern Siberia, the Steppes, Moscow, Kief-Volhynia-Podolia, Vilna-Grodno-Kovno, and Odessa ; (2) sixty-two Civil Governors ; (3) thirteen Civil or Military Governors in Siberia and Turkestan ; (4) three Military Governors of the towns of Cronstadt, Nicolaieff, and Vladivostock ; (5) the Prefects of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Sebastopol, Kertch, and Taganrog ; and (6) twelve Civil Governors of the Caucasus. In all there are 625 administrative districts under this Department ; but the Governments of Finland and Turkestan look direct to the Senate and the Emperor. In each Government there is a council, appointed usually by the Board of Control.

The communes or mirs elect their own elder (*starosta*) and other officers, in open assembly ; the nearest approach to this form of local government being found in some of the Swiss cantons. The mirs are combined into cantons (*voloste*) which also elect their elders, and also their judges of first instance, with jurisdiction in civil matters up to 100 roubles. The districts, again, have their elective assemblies (*zemstvos*), in which the nominees of the peasant and noble proprietors sit together.

Similar, but less liberal institutions exist in Poland, where, however, the *zemstvos* have not yet been introduced.

After the judges of first instance come certain superior judges, with jurisdiction up to 300 roubles ; and appeals lie from both classes of courts to the judges of a district in joint session. From them the appeal is to the Senate, as already mentioned.

For business which cannot be taken by the district judges there are superior courts in ten judiciary districts, with appeal to a High Court in each district ; and further appeal to the judicial Departments of the Senate.

The work of education is going backward in **Education.** Russia, owing to the desperate struggle which is being made by the Government against the spread of seditious ideas. In the primary schools of European Russia, excluding Poland, there are under two million pupils, or less than one in forty of the population. In the secondary schools the number is about 230,000. There are eight universities, with about 12,000 students. But within the past three years the higher education of women has been checked, and sundry restrictions have been placed on the entrance of students to the secondary schools and universities. In 1887 orders to the like effect were received from the Minister of Public Instruction by the masters of high schools, gymnasia, and pro-gymnasia. District managers in the thirteen educational provinces were directed to raise their fees, and to refuse to enter on their books children of humble parents, unless they could show very special reasons for exception. The pretext assigned for this order was that the home conditions of the poorer students were unsuitable.

The gymnasia are for the most part classical schools, and measures have recently been taken for their conversion into ordinary high schools. This change is probably conceived in a liberal spirit, for it had hitherto been officially held in Russia that a modern or scientific training tended to develop sedition, whilst classical studies were calculated to moderate the spirit of disaffection.

The Revenue, which has latterly been made to **Finance.** balance the Expenditure in the budget, has increased within the past ten years from £54,800,000 to more than £87,000,000. In 1887 the charge for interest on the Debt was £25,537,000. Public Debt, about £500,000,000.

FINLAND.

The Grand Duchy of Finland (capital, Helsingfors) was ceded to Russia in 1809, when Alexander I. guaranteed its ancient laws, liberties, and privileges. Succeeding Czars have renewed the guarantee on their accession. The ancient Constitution of the country had not been maintained in an effective condition, and the Czars have consented in some degree to revive it. In 1826 a Senate, nominated by the Crown, was established at Helsingfors, under the presidency of a Governor-General, with Departments of Justice and Finance; and a Committee for the Affairs of Finland sits at St. Petersburg. Thus the administrative and executive government of the Grand Duchy is sufficiently in harmony with that of the empire to make the supreme authorities comparatively indifferent to the re-establishment of the ancient diet. In 1863 the Landtdag was restored on its old basis of four Orders—nobility, clergy, burgesses, and peasants—the Constitution being that of the old Swedish Riksdag, with certain modifications introduced in 1869, 1879, and 1882.

Some of the chief provisions of the Organic Law of 1869 are as follows—"The Estates of Finland meet in ordinary session at least once in five years, on the summons of the Emperor and Grand Duke, and may also be summoned in extraordinary session when the Emperor sees fit. . . . The ordinary session of the Landtdag must not be prolonged for more than four months from the day of its opening; consequently the Emperor and Grand Duke may, if the business submitted to the consideration of the Estates has not been concluded, put an end to the session if he sees fit, and dismiss the Estates. The session may also be closed before

the expiration of the four months if all the Orders demand it, or if the Emperor for any other reason finds it necessary to take this step. . . . The members of the Landtdag must observe a grave and courteous demeanour in their speeches ; but they cannot be put upon their trial," &c., as in other parliamentary constitutions, the consent of the particular Order to which he belongs being necessary before any proceedings can be taken against him. The Order of clergy includes the archbishop and bishops, at least 12 ecclesiastical deputies for Abo, 10 for Borga, 6 for Kuopio, 1 for the University of Helsingfors, and 1 for the elementary school teachers in each district (stift). The Order of burgesses is thus represented : " Each town names a deputy ; but if the number of inhabitants recorded in the assessment lists exceeds 6,000, two may be named, and one more for every fraction of 6,000. A town with fewer than 1,500 inhabitants may either name a separate deputy or unite with another town which by the foregoing arrangement can only name one." All taxpayers may vote ; but not women, or members of the Orders of nobility and clergy, or sailors, or soldiers, or civil servants, or servants of a corporation, or day labourers and others in casual service, or men following a profession solely in order to earn their living, or taxpayers in arrear for more than the preceding twelvemonths.

" The Order of peasants is composed of deputies elected by each of the [59] judiciary districts (domsagor) of the country. The election is made by electors of the second degree, named by each commune or part of a commune within the district, and it takes place before the judge in the place which he may appoint. . . . Every man domiciled in the commune who possesses an estate, whether noble or commoner . . . may vote, if he is not a member

of another Order, and has no public employment." One delegate is elected for every 2,000 inhabitants.

Members of the Landtdag are paid for their services, and receive their travelling expenses, the cost being borne and the amount fixed by the electors. The Emperor nominates the marshals and presidents of the Orders of nobility and clergy, and he appoints the presidents of the other Orders on their nomination. The Landtdag then elects Committees of Legislation, Administration, Finance, Extraordinary Supplies, and Banking Affairs, which examine and report upon all measures relating to these several heads.

There are many other regulations in this Organic Law, which, like the Constitution, has been based upon the corresponding laws of Sweden.

1887. If less had been thought and said in the past year of the varying relations between Russia and Bulgaria, more attention would probably have been given to the internal government of the empire, which is being modified by various ministers—apparently by means of what are known as “notified” ukases—in some very important respects. The tendency of recent measures seems to be for the most part extremely anti-liberal and reactionary. Two ukases were published in October which are likely to have a serious effect upon the general tone of public and social life in Russia. By one of these it is ordered that only cadets of noble families shall in future be eligible as officers in the artillery and engineers, the two higher branches of the service, and that all officers of whatever rank at present attached to these two arms, but who do not belong to any grade of nobility, shall be gradually elimi-

nated and transferred to the infantry. The second ukase practically makes commoners ineligible for the Russian civil service. For some time past the public Departments and the examining boards appear to have acted fairly upon the regular tests of merit, and little or no distinction has been made between candidates on the ground of their social origin ; but the Minister of the Interior, of his own motion or by superior direction, has taken effectual means to close the avenue which had been opened to industry and education. The edict affects a very large number of the most intelligent sections of the people, and it can scarcely fail to add enormous strength to the national disaffection.

If this reactionary revolution in the public services may be regarded as a mere temporary success for the wealthier classes, the relapse in education which has been mentioned above (page 545) is more especially due to the belief of the Government that they are in this way counteracting the revolutionary activity of their enemies, who have latterly found many recruits in the universities and schools. But the elements in Russia which are favourable to a radical change of government, by violent methods or otherwise, are to all appearance gaining still greater strength from the severe measures taken against them. The gist of the social problem in Russia is still what it was when the leading Liberals of Moscow addressed their famous protest to General Melikoff in 1880. They urged that the principal reason for the morbid form which the struggle with the Government had taken was the absence of any opportunity for the free development of public opinion, and the free exercise of public activity. The evil cannot be eradicated by mere repressive measures. The present condition of the people, many of whose most urgent needs are wholly un-

satisfied, constitutes ample cause for dissatisfaction, which, having no means of free expression, necessarily manifests itself in morbid forms. The causes which underlie this widespread discontent cannot be removed by the action of the Government, without the friendly co-operation of all the vital forces of society.*

The Danger of War. It is unquestionable that the social conflict in Russia exercises a marked and constant effect upon the foreign policy of the Government, and, consequently, brings the latter more distinctly within the view of a student of constitutional history than would otherwise be the case. Apart from the tendency which internal troubles have always manifested to draw unstable Governments into warlike adventures, it has been affirmed by close observers of Russian affairs that the liberal and revolutionary parties would welcome a foreign war, looking for the breakdown of despotic rule after the defeat and humiliation of the country. The moderate revolutionists, it is said, do not entertain the slightest illusion about the issue of a war between Russia and a civilized European Power, but on that account endeavour to push the Government into a war, convinced that it will be defeated, and that radical reforms will follow upon a military reverse. "They think a war the only way to conquer liberty, and are willing by any sacrifice of blood and gold to obtain it. The revolutionary Russian patriots, undoubtedly the most numerous party, share fully the views of the last quoted as to the necessity for and the issue of a war, but do not believe that the Government will spontaneously change its principle of ruling after defeat. Therefore they prepare the

* The complete document is printed in *The Century* magazine for November, 1887.

masses for the great revolution which, according to them, must break out as soon as the country has been humiliated. The Polish patriots in Russia are still more active in this direction than even the Russians. They have already for more than twenty years abandoned every idea that they would ever be enabled, through an insurrection, to re-establish the independent Kingdom of Poland. But they have not for a single moment abandoned the conviction that Poland will rise from her ashes." They look for the realization of that hope in a war between Russia and one or more great Powers. It is believed by many that a valuable guarantee of future peace would be obtained by creating a neutral or federated Polish State, extending from the Baltic to Warsaw, and possibly including the Polish province of Galicia, and the Polish inhabitants, if not the actual territory, of Posen.

The fiscal policy of Russia has this year been made more distinctly protectionist. The Minister **Pauperism.** of Finance announced and justified the resolution arrived at by his Government in a speech at Nijni Novgorod in October, and the *Moscow Gazette* interpreted this speech as follows: "There can now be no question of compromise with or concessions to the foreign exploiters who have so long enriched themselves at the cost of our native land. It is impossible to return to those doctrines which have so long and so heavily weighed on Russian economic life. In the name of the Emperor the principle of a national economic policy has been proclaimed, and by these means the economic prosperity of the country is assured in the future." Not only is the "parasitical foreign industry" to be regulated, but all possible measures are to be taken to protect Russian trade in markets such as Central Asia, the

distant East, Persia, &c. The Customs tariff is to be revised, and foreign treaties which were concluded during the predominance of free trade doctrines are to be swept away. "Such treaties are palpably unprofitable to the country, undermine its commercial marine, and so impede the development of the Russian export trade. Thus, for instance, our treaty with Great Britain, concluded in 1858, while placing on the same footing, in Russian harbours, our feebly developed shipping with the British mercantile marine, at the same time empowers the British Government to refuse to Russian vessels the privilege which some ports of the United Kingdom have long enjoyed."

Meanwhile the economical conditions which the Government has to face are becoming more urgent. It has been estimated that as many as 100,000 peasant proprietors "in each of the large provinces" have abandoned their grants of land (of about eight acres). According to Mr. Dering, Secretary of Embassy at St. Petersburg, there has been "permanent famine" since 1866 in 148 governments, and in 71 of these the number of beggars was computed at 300,000 in 1887. The *mir*s, on whom the relief of the poor nominally rests, are too impoverished to deal effectually with this state of things. A short time ago it transpired that one-fourth of the population of the capital was in receipt of charitable relief.

A recognized principle of international law has been frequently violated in some parts of Russia during the past year by the arbitrary expulsion of foreign residents—apparently by local rather than by Government action.

For international relations, see under *Germany*, 1887.

SERVIA.

The Constitutional Kingdom of Servia (capital, Belgrade) is bounded by the Empire of Austria on the north; the Kingdom of Roumania and the Principality of Bulgaria, with the Province of Eastern Roumelia, on the east; Turkey and the Austrian Province of Novibazar on the south; and the Austrian Province of Bosnia on the west. The Servo-Bulgarian frontier was settled by a convention in 1887, which gave Bregovo to Servia, and fixed the bed of the Timok as the boundary-line.

Area, 18,000 square miles. Population, about 2,000,000.

GOVERNMENT.

Servia, like Roumania, secured her autonomy from Turkey (by aid of Russia) in 1829, after a national struggle of more than twenty years. In 1835 Prince Milosch promulgated a Constitution, providing for a permanent Soviet, or Senate, and limiting the session of the ancient Skupschtina, or National Assembly, to two days in the year. Under the influence of Russia and Austria this grant was withdrawn, and replaced by a yet narrower Constitution, nominally accorded by the Porte and dependent on its authority. The Schupschtina was virtually suppressed, and the Senate was in no way representative of the people. Constant revolutions followed. From 1842 to 1858 the Prince and his family were exiles. In 1868 the then reigning Prince was assassinated. In 1869, during a regency, an assembly of 70 representatives drew up the existing Constitution, and since that time the nation has been comparatively satisfied and at peace. In 1882 (at the same time as Roumania) Servia became a Kingdom, having obtained her

independence by the Treaty of Berlin, which also awarded to her a Turkish district in the upper valley of the Morava, and imposed on her the same condition of religious toleration which was imposed on Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Roumania (see p. 503).

The Constitution of 1869 declares Serbia to be a "hereditary monarchy 'oustavna'"—that is, based on laws—"with national representation." The King, on his accession, is required to take a particularly solemn oath, in the following terms: "I (the name), on assuming the government, swear by Almighty God, and by all I hold most dear and holy in this world, on the holy cross and on the gospels, to maintain the Constitution of the country intact, to govern in conformity with this Constitution and with the laws, and to keep before me in all my purposes and acts the wellbeing of the nation alone. As I solemnly pronounce this oath before God and the nation, I call our Lord God to witness, to whom I shall have to render account at the last judgment, and I confirm the sincerity of this oath by kissing the holy gospels, and the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. So help me God the Lord. Amen."

There are two forms of the Skupschtina in Serbia (as there are two of the Sobranje in Bulgaria)—one "great" and "national," which meets on the death of the King, and on other special constitutional occasions, being representative in the widest sense; the other ordinary and legislative.

The Ordinary Skupschtina is elected directly in the towns and indirectly in the rural constituencies. Each canton (srez), and each chief town of a department, elects one deputy for every 3,000 taxpayers—but in any case one. Belgrade elects at least two. For three deputies elected by the nation, the King nominates one. Every taxpayer

of full age is an elector in the first degree ; but a deputy must pay not less than £1 4s. in taxes. The total number of deputies is now about 208. To tide over a difficulty in 1887, the King made an agreement with M. Ristics, the Prime Minister, putting at his disposal the votes of 36 out of the 52 royal nominees, in order to secure a majority for the Government. It is expressly laid down that the Ordinary Skupschtina "cannot make the adoption of the budget conditional upon proposals which are not germane to it."

The Great National Skupschtina is elected by the nation alone, the electors having the power of returning four times as many deputies as it can return to the ordinary assembly.

The Council of State is consulted by the Government in legislative and executive matters, and especially in matters of finance. It may also decide upon appeals made against the administrative departments. It is nominated by the King, and consists of not fewer than eleven nor more than fifteen members.

The Council of Ministers, whose authority comes next to that of the King, is composed of seven members. Every act of the King's must be countersigned by a minister.

Trial by jury is established in criminal cases. Trials are public, and judgments must "cite the paragraphs of the law in virtue of which they are pronounced." "No authority in the State, whether legislative or administrative, can intervene in judiciary matters ; and conversely, the tribunals cannot concern themselves with the legislative or administrative authority."

The communes are independent in their administration so long as they conform to the law. Every citizen, and every species of fixed property, must belong administra-

tively to a commune, and must contribute to the revenue of the commune.

Servians belong almost exclusively to the Greek Church, which is governed by a Synod, including the metropolitan of Belgrade, three bishops, and seven representatives of the clergy.

Education is under the charge of the State, but is not constitutionally free or compulsory. About 2·5 per cent. of the population attend the primary schools.

The Revenue has risen to about £1,800,000; the deficit in 1887 being over a million sterling. The Public Debt is about £11,447,000.

SIAM.

The Absolute Monarchy of Siam (capital, Bangkok) occupies the territory between Burmah on the west and the French dependency of Indo-China (Annam) on the east, and between China on the north (Yunnan—separated by the semi-independent Shan and Laos tribes) and the Malayan peninsula, the Gulf of Siam, and the French dependency of Cambodia on the south.

Area, about 200,000 square miles. Population, about 5,000,000, including about one million each of the Laos on the north and the Malaysians on the south, with nearly the same number of Chinese. All these estimates are mere approximations.

The authority of the monarch is so far limited in that he has committed much of his power to a *Council of Ministers* (as distinguished from individual ministers occasionally assembled, which is the ordinary Persian plan), and a *Sanabodi*, or Council of State, made up of the ministers, an indefinite number of notables nominated by

the King, and the royal princes (now comprising certain of the King's brothers). There is in Siam a "second king," subsidiary in honour and ceremonial duties, but taking no share in the government.

The chief ministers are the Kalahomi, or Minister of the South, who is also Minister of Military and Naval Affairs; the Puterpai, or Minister of the North; and the Praklang, or Finance Minister.

These three ministers are in charge of the fifty-eight administrative districts or provinces; the local governors being nominated by the Crown. The Laos of the north and the Malays of the south have their local institutions and government, paying tribute to the King of Siam; but the boundaries of the States are not clearly defined.

Siam is a feudal country. The nobles are the chief vassals of the King, and the majority of the Siamese people are in a condition of serfdom, owing about one-fourth of their lives in forced labour. Below these are the absolute slaves, but the institution of slavery is said to be declining, if not practically extinct. The King draws from the country an income of about £2,000,000, but the second king is reputed to take one-third of the revenues. The taxation (on land, fruit, spirits, opium, gaming licenses, customs, mines, fisheries, and other products) is very heavy, and is collected on the farming system. One of the popular titles of the monarch is that of "eater of the land." There is no public debt. The Chinese, who are in a large measure exempt from taxation, reside chiefly in Bangkok and other seaport towns.

Siam is gradually adopting more civilized modes of life and government, and the country is under treaty relations with most of the great Powers. The religion is Buddhist,

and is liberally supported by the monarch, who on many points of ceremonial and public regulations defers to the superior authority of the church. The priests are very numerous, and are for the most part dedicated to an existence of poverty and abstinence. A limited toleration is granted to other forms of public worship, and Christianity is apparently spreading. Justice of a rude kind is administered with some approach to effective severity. Thus, in some of the Lao provinces, death is the nominal penalty of theft. The scheme of education has become more liberal since the great extension of commerce and intercourse with European nations, and Siamese subjects have for some years past been regularly sent to England for instruction.

SPAIN.

The Kingdom of Spain (capital, Madrid) occupies the greater part of the south-western promontory of Europe, having the Kingdom of Portugal on the west, and the Republic of France on the north-east. On every other side the country is surrounded by sea. The rock and town of Gibraltar, which has been in British possession since 1704, dominates the strait of the same name, between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Gibraltar is opposite to Ceuta, and Tarifa to Tangier, on the coast of Africa (Morocco), the strait being about one mile broad at its narrowest part. The Balearic Isles (Majorca, Minorca, and Iviza), in the Mediterranean, and the Canary Isles, in the Atlantic, about 60 miles to the west of Africa, belong to Spain.

The area is computed at 197,767 square miles, and the population in 1884 was approximately 16,958,000, spread

over 49 Provinces, which are arranged below under the names of the more ancient political divisions :—

PROVINCES.	Sq. Miles.	Population.
NEW CASTILE :—Madrid, Guadalajara, Toledo, Cuenca, Ciudad-Real	28,018	1,658,181
OLD CASTILE :—Burgos, Logrono, Santander, Oviedo, Soria, Segovia, Avila, Leon, Palencia, Valladolid, Salamanca, Zamora	44,741	3,166,342
GALICIA :—Corunna, Lugo, Orense, Pontevedra	11,944	1,874,670
EXTREMADURA :—Badajoz, Caceres	16,700	757,942
ANDALUSIA :—Seville, Huelva, Cadiz, Jaen, Cordova	22,600	1,987,390
GRANADA :—Granada, Almeria, Malaga	11,063	1,350,408
VALENCIA :—Valencia, Alicante, Castellon-de-la-Plana, Murcia, Albacete	19,346	2,104,906
CATALONIA :—Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida, Gerona	12,483	1,774,906
ARAGON :—Huesca, Teruel, Zaragoza	17,976	907,076
NAVARRH	6,046	310,560
GUIPUZCOA :—Alava, Biscay, Guipuzcoa	2,782	467,215
BALEARIC and CANARY ISLANDS	4,668	597,692
Total Area and Population	197,767	16,958,178

Ceuta and Presidios also, on the coast of Morocco, are in the possession of Spain, and are held by garrisons. Their population is about 2,500. The territory of Spain has been occupied by many nations in succession, and its inhabitants are a mixed race, including the Basques of the north, the Morescoes of the south, and the so-called gipsies of Granada, &c.

After the expulsion of the main body of the **Historical** Moors from Spain, the country was divided **Facts.** into a number of independent States. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Ferdinand of Aragon obtained Castile by marriage (1469), Granada from the residue of the Moors, Navarre and other provinces by various processes of absorption, and Naples by conquest. Ferdinand's grandson Charles obtained Austria and the Netherlands by marriage, Mexico and Peru by conquest. His son, Philip II., added Portugal by conquest, in 1580—and this may be considered the high-water mark of Spanish great-

ness. Eight years later came the defeat of the Armada, and sixty years later Portugal and the Netherlands were free again. In 1700 the Bourbon dynasty was set up, and in 1704 Great Britain seized Gibraltar. After the Napoleonic wars the Spanish Liberals obtained a Constitution in 1820, but, the Holy Alliance intervening, a French army entered the country, dissolved the Cortes, and restored the old monarchical supremacy. In 1833 an "Estatuto Real" was conceded; and four years later the Queen-Regent Christina accepted a representative form of government (which had already been set up for a short period in 1812). The country, however, was too unsettled to take full advantage of popular institutions. In 1868 Spain was plunged once more into a condition of anarchy. Under the provisional government which followed the removal of Queen Isabella, the regency of Serrano, the short reign of the Italian Amadeo, and the Republic of 1873-5, complicated as the trouble was by a Carlist war, the nation had not the leisure or the calmness necessary for the discussion and adoption of a genuine Constitution.

Government. In the year following the accession of Alfonso XII.—that is, in 1876—the Cortes were elected by universal suffrage, and a draft Constitution, which had been prepared by a Commission of notables nominated by the King, was submitted to them. It was adopted, with few alterations, and is now a fundamental law of the land. Since that time the government of the country has been orderly, and there has been much national progress.

The Constitution of Spain sets out with a number of general declarations of the rights of citizenship, which establish the ordinary constitutional guarantees of person,

domicile, religious belief, opinion and speech, meeting, association, petition, and so forth.

The Cortes consist of Senate and Congress. The Senate includes (1) senators by right, (2) senators nominated for life by the Crown, (3) elected senators. Senators by right are the sons of the King, grandees of Spain having an income of £2,400, captains-general and the admiral of the fleet, the patriarch of the Indies and the archbishops, the presidents of the Council of State, the Supreme Court, the Court of Exchequer, the supreme Military Court, and the Naval Court. Senators nominated by the King must belong to certain enumerated categories, corresponding generally with the ranks indicated for a like purpose by the Constitution of Italy. The elected senators (under the electoral law of 1877) are 9 chosen by the clergy, 6 by the academies, 10 by the universities, 5 by the economical societies, and 150 by the provincial deputies and municipal delegates, together with four times the number of taxpayers taken in the order of their assessment; total, 180. The last section of the Senate is renewed by halves every five years; though the King may dissolve the section as a whole. Senators (except ministers of the Crown) may not accept office or decorations whilst the Cortes are in session. A senator must be thirty-five years old (except the royal princes), must have his property unencumbered, and must never have been the subject of a criminal charge.

The Congress (Congreso) of Deputies now includes (under the law of 1878) 481 members, of whom ten, not otherwise elected, are chosen on the ground of their receiving the highest aggregate of votes in various constituencies, provided the number of votes exceeds 10,000. Cuba sends one deputy for every 40,000 free inhabitants,

and Porto Rico is also represented. Eighty-eight of the deputies are returned by *scrutin de liste* in twenty-six large electoral districts, where an effort is made to secure the representation of minorities ; and the remainder are elected by the smaller constituencies, or *junte*. Electors must be Spanish citizens, twenty-five years old, paying £1 land tax, or £2 income tax. There are nine other "fancy" franchises—for education, profession, income, public service, &c. Candidates must be lay Spanish citizens, in the enjoyment of civil rights. Elections are held every five years.

The Cortes meet annually. The King names the President and vice-presidents of the Senate, but otherwise both Chambers control their own officers and proceedings. They must meet simultaneously, but cannot sit together. The King, the Heir Apparent, or the Regent must take an oath to observe the Constitution in presence of the Chambers. The responsible Ministers may be impeached by the Congress before the Senate. There are the usual provisions of written Constitutions for the inviolability of the persons of the King, the senators, and the deputies.

The King (who has a civil list of £280,000) has the accustomed powers and privileges of a constitutional monarch, in whose name the executive government is carried on ; but he needs special authorization by law to alienate, cede, or exchange any portion of the territory of Spain, to incorporate a foreign territory, to admit foreign troops, to ratify treaties of offensive alliance, special treaties of commerce, treaties stipulating for subsidies to a foreign Power, and all treaties laying obligations on Spaniards individually. In no case may secret articles detract from the force of public articles in the same treaty.

The Council of State includes seven sections, presided over by the Ministers of the Crown; and former Ministers retain the title of Councillors.

In each of the 49 Provinces enumerated above there is a Provincial Deputation, the number of members and the mode of their election being prescribed by law. The municipalities (pueblos) are governed by mayors (alcaldes) and councils (ayuntamientos). The size of these councils varies according to the size of the municipality, from five to about thirty members. These regidores, as they are commonly styled, are elected for four years, retiring by halves every alternate year, and they select the alcalde from their own number. They are responsible under the Provincial Deputations for local administration, the assessment and collection of rates, &c. The Constitution lays down the following general principles of local administration:—"The government and direction of the special interests of provinces and municipalities by the assemblies; the publication of the budgets, accounts, and resolutions of these assemblies; the intervention of the King, and of the Cortes if need be, to prevent the provincial deputations and ayuntamientos from going beyond their powers to the injury of the general and permanent interests; the limitation of the rights of these different assemblies in financial matters, in order that the provinces and municipalities may not violate the fiscal system of the State."

The character of the administration of the law in Spain appears to have improved somewhat, though not much, since the adoption of the Constitution. The codification of the law is urgently needed, and with it a reform of the general procedure.

**Local
Adminis-
tration.**

**Judicial
Adminis-
tration.**

The *alcaldes*, and in the larger municipalities their assessors, are magistrates exercising a summary jurisdiction in minor cases.

The Constitution, which in this sense has not been carried into effect, provides that "the same Codes shall be applied throughout the realm, except in respect of the variations which circumstances shall render necessary, and the law shall determine. There shall be only one law for Spaniards in civil and in criminal matters." Other clauses enjoin the publicity of criminal judgments, and declare the immovability of the judges and magistrates.

Education Elementary education is not yet thorough or and satisfactory in Spain. A Director of Public Religion. Education was appointed in 1881; the ten Universities were taken as centres, and inspectors were nominated in each. The results are not yet apparent. In the municipal schools education is for the most part free, but the number of pupils in attendance is not more than about 1 in 12 of the population, whilst the ratio of illiterates is still over 50 per cent. The total educational grant by the State is little more than £300,000, whilst the expenditure of the municipalities is three times as much.

The religion of the State is almost exclusively Roman Catholic; but Spain has had more than one serious dispute with the Vatican during the present century.

Finance. The Revenue was estimated in 1887 at £34,589,000, almost all derived from customs, excise, and direct taxation. The Expenditure was £35,885,000, of which nearly one-half is accounted for by the charges of the public debt and the army. The Debt in 1881 was £512,000,000, but in order to avoid a complete repudiation it was then reduced to about £233,000,000.

SPANISH DEPENDENCIES.

The Dependencies of Spain are :—

In the Atlantic—Cuba and Puerto Rico ;

In the Eastern seas—the Philippine, Caroline, Marian, Sooloo and Palaos Islands ;

In West Africa—Fernando Po, Corisco, Elobey, Annobom, and San Juan ; the territory between Cape Bojador and Cape Blanco ; the territory of Yfnu.

Estimated area, 165,000 square miles. Population, 8,025,500. In Cuba there are reckoned about 978,000 Spaniards, 10,650 other whites, 530,000 coloured. The most populous colony is the Philippine Islands (5,561,000), and the most densely populated is Puerto Rico, 210 to the square mile.

Cuba and Puerto Rico, as already stated, are represented in the Cortes. The island of Cuba is locally administered by a Governor and other officers appointed by the Crown, with subordinate administrations in the three provinces. Slavery was finally abolished in both islands in 1886.

In the Sooloo Archipelago the protectorate of Spain is recognized over the islands lying between Borneo, Aragua, and Mindanao, but excluding the small islands within three leagues of the coast of Borneo.

Spain asserted its supremacy over the Caroline Islands in 1885, and the claim was eventually allowed by the Powers, though there were already European and American settlements on the islands.

The condition of Cuba has been unsettled for years past, and charges have been made against 1887.

the conduct of local officials. In 1887 the newly appointed Governor was dismissed for having brought such charges, which he failed to substantiate; but the Government immediately despatched a Financial Commission, which was authorized to take measures for the reform of the administration. In the meantime, the Puerto Rico deputies urged grave complaints against the local authorities of that island; and it appeared that delegates appointed to come to Madrid and lay their grievances before the home Government had been detained in the island.

The Liberal Ministry of Señor Sagasta, after taking the condition of both islands into consideration, are understood to have adopted a policy of conciliation, and they have promised to introduce the following reforms, "in order to pacify the Creoles until their home rule aspirations can be satisfied." The colonial tariff will be assimilated to the Imperial tariff; the export duties will be abolished in the West Indies, and the import duties in Spain on sugar and alcohol from Cuba and Puerto Rico; coasting trade privileges will be extended to the commerce between Spain, Puerto Rico, and Cuba; a more economical administration of the army and colonial affairs will be introduced, and the Creoles will for the future be allowed to enter both services; the mother country will grant an Imperial guarantee, and annual subsidies to the West Indian Railways and Public Works. Señor Sagasta and the Colonial Minister consulted the West Indian members, especially the Home Rulers, before framing these resolutions, which have raised hopes of a pacification of the native elements in the Spanish West Indies.

In 1887 Spain rounded off her territory between the Sahara and the Atlantic by taking possession of Grey-

hound Bay, under the lee of Cape Blanco, and as far as the bay of Arguin. Reckoning 500 miles of coast and 150 miles inland, this appropriation means an increase of 75,000 square miles.

The Spanish Cortes met on December 1, and the young king (born on May 17, 1886) was presented to the Senate. The Speech from the Throne declared that the Government was pledged to the fulfilment of the Liberal programme, including an extension of the suffrage and the provision of efficacious guarantees for personal rights. This points to a speedy revision of the Constitution; and the present condition of Spain warrants the belief that the change will be quietly and thoroughly effected. The correct and constitutional attitude of the Queen Regent, and the absence of the intervention by the Court in the politics of the nation, appear to have modified in an important manner the jealousies of parties and the intrigues of Carlists and Republicans. The present Liberal Government of Señor Sagasta has displayed some vigour in the introduction of administrative reforms, with laws to regulate the conduct of associations and extend trial by jury in criminal cases; but it is charged with yielding too much to the reactionary views of some of its members. Though a motion for the increase of tariffs against foreign goods was defeated in the Cortes, one or two of the Ministers have made weak declarations on the same subject.

The Government took an important step at the end of 1887 in raising the Spanish legations at Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Rome, and London, to the rank of embassies. This involves an addition to the financial burden of the country, and the change was condemned in Spain as

Constitu-
tional
Revision.

indicating a new and dangerous departure in foreign policy. But the immediate object seems to be to give the Government a more authoritative position at the Congress which has been summoned to deal with the demands of Morocco. (See page 505.)

SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

The Kingdom of Sweden and Norway (capital, Stockholm) is a peninsula extending southwards from Lapland to within a few miles of the east coast of Denmark. It is one of the four Baltic countries, whilst Norway is about 300 miles from Scotland.

The union of Sweden and Norway took place in 1814, when the latter country was ceded by Denmark to the Swedish King. After some resistance on the part of the Norwegians they acquiesced in a convention declaring Norway to be a free, independent, inalienable State, united to Sweden. They then proceeded to elect the Swedish monarch as their King, and received a guarantee of their separate government and laws. The reigning monarch is the grandson of Bernadotte, one of Buonaparte's generals, elected heir-apparent to Carl XIII. in 1810.

Area of Sweden, 170,979 square miles. Population, about 4,685,000, nearly five-sixths of whom are rural.

Area of Norway, 123,205 square miles. Population, about 2,000,000.

GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN.

The Constitution of Sweden is not amongst those which have sprung from the political upheavals of the present century. It has had, like that of Great Britain, a very gradual, and, for the most part, expansive growth. Early

in the fifteenth century the people were represented in the State Assembly or Riksdag. Down to a recent date this Assembly sat in four Houses. With the exception of a period of royal predominance, from 1772 to 1809, the influence of the people steadily increased. Yet it may be said that the existing Constitution dates from the year last named, when sundry laws of a constructive or amending character were passed. Further enlargements have taken place at later dates, especially by the Reform Act, or Riksdagsordning, of 1866.

The monarch, who must be a member of the Lutheran Church, has a civil list of about £115,000. He retains the right of initiation, as well as that of veto, in legislative matters, but he shares them with the Assembly. He is assisted by an Executive Council, one of whom must countersign his acts; and with their advice he has the power of declaring war and making peace. This Council of State is composed of ten members, who are responsible to the Riksdag; and the President of the Council is leader of the Government. Seven of the ten Councillors are heads of Departments, being Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Interior, Justice, Finance, Army, Navy, and Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Princes of the royal blood are debarred from holding office, though they may serve in the army.

The Riksdag is made up of two Houses, and sits annually for four months.

The upper House has one member for every 30,000 inhabitants, the last adjustment having given 143 members. These are returned by the nomination of the provincial and urban councils—the twenty-four “landsthings,” and the four chief municipalities. Candidates must be thirty-

five years old, and must have possessed during the last three years real property valued at 80,000 crowns (£4,444), or have paid income-tax on at least 4,000 crowns.* The election is for nine years, and the members are unpaid. The election of both Houses is by ballot.

The lower House contains 214 members, of whom 145 are elected by the parishes, or subdivisions of the provinces, and the remainder by the towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants. For this House the unit of representation is 40,000 in the provinces, and 10,000 in boroughs; but a second member is given when the first number is exceeded, and an additional member for every 10,000 inhabitants of a borough. The election is for three years, and members receive an annual salary of 12,000 crowns (about £67 10s.). The constituencies are left to decide the mode of election, which may be direct or indirect. The franchise remains very narrow in Sweden. Electors for the popular House must possess a property of 1,000 crowns, or show a five years' farming tenure of an estate worth 6,000 crowns, or pay an income-tax on 800 crowns. Less than one-fifteenth of the population are entitled to vote.

The Riksdag does not undertake many of the details of legislation. The measures introduced are submitted to a kind of Grand Committee of both Houses, elected one-half by each, and thus the two Chambers frequently confine themselves to a perfunctory consideration of a measure which they are predisposed to accept as it stands. In the case of disagreement, the Houses meet at once in joint session, and the vote of the majority (as in the Austrian Delegations and elsewhere) decides. In Sweden, however, the advantage is all with the lower House, which has the

* The value of the "krona" is about 1s. 1½d.

larger number of members, and can always carry its measures through.

Sweden is divided into twenty-four provinces or counties, each county having a governor and a representative board (landsting) elected by the people, for the purpose of administration and taxation. The counties are subdivided into parishes and municipalities, which enjoy a large measure of self-government. The chief municipalities, however, number only four, and these of no great size—Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmo, and Norrköping.

GOVERNMENT OF NORWAY.

The Constitution of Norway dates from 1814, and is the oldest of the national charters which have come into existence within the [present century. This important organization of Home Rule was drafted by Falsen, a prominent statesmen of that day. It is analysed below—account being taken of the amendments introduced down to the present time.

“The Kingdom of Norway is a free, independent, indivisible, and inalienable State, united with Sweden under a single King. The form of government is that of a limited and hereditary monarchy. The Evangelical-Lutheran religion remains the official religion of the State. The inhabitants professing it are required to bring up their children in the same faith. Jesuits and monastic orders will not be tolerated.” (Jews were admitted in 1851.)

After clauses relating to the succession, &c., of the King—who takes an oath to observe the Constitution in presence of the Storting—the text proceeds:—“The King will spend some time in Norway each year, unless serious obstacles prevent him. The King shall select a Council of

Norwegian citizens aged not less than thirty years. This Council shall be composed of two Ministers of State, and at least seven other members. The King may also appoint a Viceroy. The King assigns public business to the members of the Council of State in such manner as he thinks fit. In extraordinary circumstances the King, or in his absence the Viceroy or Minister of State, in agreement with the members of the Council, may summon to the Council, in addition to the ordinary members, other Norwegian citizens, not being members of the Storting. Father and son, or two brothers, cannot sit together on the Council of State. The King in his absence confides the internal administration of the country, in such cases as he may determine, to the Viceroy, if one has been appointed, conjointly with one of the Ministers of State, and at least five other members of the Council of State; or, if no Viceroy has been appointed, to one of the Ministers of State conjointly with five other members of the Council." These persons govern the country in accordance with the Constitution, reporting to the King. Decisions are taken by a majority of votes. Only the Heir-Apparent, or his eldest son, being of age (18), may be Viceroy. During the residence of the King in Sweden, one of the Ministers of State, and two members of the Council, will reside near him—the latter changing every year. All the decisions of the King relating to Norway must be taken in their presence. And, generally, no decision relating to the affairs of Norway can be taken without consulting the Government residing in Norway.

"The King regulates everything connected with Divine worship and meetings and assemblies for religious purposes, and sees that all who publicly teach religion observe the

regulations prescribed in that behalf. The King may ordain and abrogate all regulations affecting commerce, taxation, industry, and police; but these regulations must not be contrary to the Constitution, nor to the laws of the Storthing. They remain provisionally in force until the next meeting of the Storthing. . . . The State Treasury of Norway shall remain in Norway, and the revenues shall be exclusively affected to the needs of Norway. . . . The King in Council of State may pardon criminals after judgment has been pronounced." He nominates all civil, military, and ecclesiastical officials, and may also revoke their appointments—in the more important cases only—on the advice of the Council of State, and in other cases subject to a decision in the courts. Regulations follow with regard to the army. No force of either country, exceeding 8,000 of all arms, may be introduced into the other.

Each member of the Council is obliged to express his opinion on the business brought before it, and the King is bound to listen to him. The King may decide upon his own judgment, and if a member of the Council considers that any such decision is opposed to the Constitution or laws, or manifestly prejudicial to the State, it is his duty to make energetic representations to that effect, and to have his opinion recorded. Members not protesting are considered as having agreed with the King, and they will be held responsible, and may be put on their trial by the Odelsting (*see below*) before the High Court. All orders signed by the King (except military orders) must be countersigned by one of the Ministers of State. Other clauses follow in reference to the death and succession of the monarch, the Heir-Apparent, minorities, &c.; after which comes a chapter dealing with the Legislative power.

“The nation exercises the Legislative power by the instrumentation of the Storting, which is composed of two sections, a Lagthing and an Odelsting. The electoral right is possessed by Norwegian citizens who have completed their twenty-fifth year, who have been domiciled in the country for five years, and continue to reside therein, and who are or have been in the public service, or who have for more than five years possessed, or hold a lease of, landed estates, or who are burgesses of a town, or possess in a town or borough an estate or fortune valued at not less than 300 silver riksbanksdaler ” (about £33 12s.) Each citizen, before he is registered as an elector, takes an oath to the Constitution. Electoral and District Assemblies are held in the churches every third year. They are presided over in the country by the pastor (sognepræst) and his assistants, and in the towns by the municipal authorities and councillors. Votes are taken in the order of the electoral list. Questions as to the right of voting are settled by the presiding body, with appeal to the Storting. The Constitution is publicly read before proceeding to election.

Electors of the second degree, one for every fifty voters, are nominated in the towns. In rural parishes one elector is nominated for every hundred votes. Votes of absentees may be recorded in writing, addressed to the Presidents of the Assemblies before they have been selected. Candidates must be thirty years of age, with ten years of residence in the kingdom. Members are paid.

The Storting elects one-fourth of its members, who compose the Lagthing ; the other three-fourths constituting the Odelsting. This arrangement continues for the three years' term. Each Chamber, or Thing, sits apart, and two-thirds of its members are necessary to constitute a sitting.

“ It is the business of the Storthing (*a*) to make and repeal the laws, to impose taxes, customs, and other public charges, which, however, shall not remain in force after the 1st of July in the year of the next ordinary session, unless in this new session the Storthing expressly renews them ; (*b*) to contract loans on the national credit ; (*c*) to superintend the finances of the kingdom ; (*d*) to grant the supplies necessary to the expenditure of the State ; (*e*) to determine the annual sum to be granted to the King and Viceroy for their civil list, and to regulate the endowments of the royal family, which, however, shall not consist of landed property ; (*f*) to receive the official reports of the Government resident in Norway, and all official documents or papers (excepting such as strictly relate to military commands) as well as verified copies or extracts from official reports drawn up at the royal residence by the Norwegian Minister of State and the two Councillors of State resident in Sweden, or the official documents originating there ; (*g*) to receive communication of alliances and treaties which the King shall have concluded in the name of the State with foreign Powers, with the exception of secret articles—which nevertheless may not be in contradiction to the public articles ; (*h*) to summon to its bar, in respect of affairs of State, every person except the King and the royal family—but this exception does not extend to the royal princes when they are invested with functions other than those of the Viceroy ; (*i*) to revise the provisional lists of salaries and pensions, and to modify them as it deems necessary ; (*k*) to appoint five delegates charged with the annual examination of the national accounts, and to publish extracts from the same in printed papers. These accounts shall be communicated to them for this purpose,

within the six months following the expiration of the year for which the credits voted by the Storthing are granted; (1) to naturalize foreigners."

The process of legislation corresponds to the British method, except that every measure originates with the Odelsting. The Lagthing may reject a measure twice before a conference of the two Things is held. This Conference takes the form of a combined sitting, in which two-thirds of the votes decide. A measure passed by the Storthing and disallowed by the King, if passed again by the Storthing without alteration after two consecutive sessions, with the intervention of at least two ordinary sessions before each new adoption of the measure, has the force of law without the King's assent, at the close of the last session. That is to say, it requires a persistence of the popular representatives during at least six years in order to override the King's veto.

"The Storthing remains in session as long as it deems serviceable, but not longer than two months without the authorization of the King. When it is prorogued by the King after the completion of its labours, or after having sat for the prescribed time, the King will simultaneously make known his decision concerning the resolutions on which it shall not have pronounced, declaring whether he approves or rejects them." The King promulgates the laws under the royal seal. His sanction is not necessary for a resolution by which the Odelsting puts Councillors of State or others on their trial.

The next chapter deals with the Judiciary power. "The members of the Lagthing, combined with the Supreme Court (Höieste Ret), constitute the State Court (Rigsret), which definitely tries all accusations set on foot by the

sthing, whether against members of the Council of State or of the Supreme Court, for offences relating to their functions, or against members of the Storting for offences committed by them in that capacity. The presidency of the State Court belongs to the president of the Lagthing. The accused may challenge one-third of the members of the Court, provided that the Court is never constituted of fewer than fifteen persons. The Supreme Court is a final court of appeal. It may not be constituted of less than one president and six councillors. In time of peace the Supreme Court, with the addition of two superior officers nominated by the King, is an intermediate and final court for all military business, with power to inflict the penalty of death, or degradation, or imprisonment exceeding three months. The decrees of the Supreme Court are in no case subject to appeal or revision."

Then follow a number of general provisions, declaratory of popular rights and privileges.

In this respect also the inhabitants of Sweden and Norway enjoy a large measure of constitutional freedom. The judicial system is based upon the town and rural magistrates' courts, and in the latter the inhabitants of every parish, or group of parishes, are entitled to elect a board of twelve assessors, who, if they differ *unanimously* from the legal judge, may overrule his decision. There are three higher courts in Stockholm, Christianstad, and Jönköping; and the Supreme Court in the capital, over which the King is entitled to preside, takes appeals, higher criminal cases, and questions of State policy and law. This court, in fact, combines with an ordinary Supreme Court some of the characteristics of a king's privy council. Trial by jury exists for Press

offences only, under a special law passed early in the century.

In addition to the Minister of Justice there is a Justiciary, or Justitie-Kansler, appointed by the King, who, with the Attorney-General, directs State prosecutions and controls the administration of justice.

Education Public education in Sweden and Norway is and free and compulsory. The State grants in **Religion.** Sweden an annual sum of about £1,700,000 in support of about 10,000 elementary schools, which are attended by 94 per cent. of the children of school age. In Norway the amount of the grant is somewhat less. Thus the educational system is highly efficient; and there are two excellent universities, with normal, technical, and special high schools of various kinds.

The established religion is Lutheran, and other denominations, though tolerated, are remarkably few.

Finance. The Revenue of Sweden for 1887 was £4,712,777, and the Expenditure was estimated to balance it exactly. Nearly three-quarters of the income is derived from customs, public lands, and direct taxes. The Public Debt is over £13,700,000.

In Norway the Revenue for the same year was £2,392,621, which was also the amount of the Expenditure. The Public Debt is about £5,965,000.

1887. The old economical struggle between the principles of free trade and the allurements of protection, which naturally breaks out again in every period of industrial depression, has been waged this year with considerable vigour in almost every country. Where

Governments rely for a revenue mainly upon the taxation of miscellaneous articles, there have been numerous changes of tariff, all intended to check competition in particular branches of trade, and some directed against the competition of particular countries. In Sweden the question has been fought out in the Riksdag and in the constituencies. Early in the year the Lower Chamber (214 members) passed a resolution in favour of a corn law by 111 votes against 101; whilst the Upper Chamber (142 members) maintained free trade by a still closer vote of 70 against 68. The Government, recognizing that a modification in the commercial system of such great importance could not be effected without taking the sense of the nation, dissolved the popular Chamber—and this in spite of the fact that the three years' term of that Chamber would have ended in the ordinary course of things in the month of September. The result of this extraordinary election was to give a large majority of members pledged to maintain the free trade policy of the country.

The popular party in Norway is not satisfied with the spirit in which the Constitution of **Home Rule.** 1814 is observed by the King's advisers in Sweden, and there is at this moment considerable tension between the two countries. Loyalty on both sides to the charter of 1814 would have cemented the union of Sweden and Norway. But Swedish politicians have recently taken measures to "weld the two nations into one," by repealing, or attempting to repeal, several of the guarantees secured by Norway as conditions to her acceptance of the union. The result has been to create a long and embittered quarrel, which has not yet been brought to an end. The desire of Sweden to place limitations on the

autonomy of Norway has had the natural effect of generating a Norwegian party favourable to separation. Like other nations in a similar predicament, Sweden has to choose between the evils of federation, which limits the central authority without necessarily diminishing the combined strength of the nation, and the evils of union without unison, which paralyses the national strength, and makes the central authority dependent on an Executive hostile to important sections of the people.

TUNIS.

Tunis (capital, Tunis), on the north coast of Africa, between the French dependency of Algeria and the Turkish vilayet of Tripoli, ceased to be tributary to the Porte in 1871, though it remained nominally under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Since 1881 it has been under the protection of France. There is a French Minister-Resident and his staff, under the control of the Foreign Office at Paris ; and French courts have replaced the consular jurisdiction. The Tunis-Tripoli boundary is still in dispute.

Area, over 40,000 square miles—reckoning southwards as far as the 30th parallel, so as to include the hilly districts of El Arg. Population, about 2,000,000, consisting mainly of Bedouin Arabs. (See also page 257.)

TURKEY.

The Absolute Monarchy of Turkey (capital, Constantinople) extends over the south-east of Europe, Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, and many islands of the Levantine archipelago. The boundaries of these territories are the Russian Empire on the north, Roumania, Servia, Austria, Montenegro, Greece, the limits of Egypt in Africa, and Persia.

The constantly shrinking frontiers of Turkey include provinces under the autocratic rule of the Sultan; an autonomous province (Eastern Roumelia), nominally under his political and military authority, but having an elective Government, and a Christian Governor; principalities connected with the Porte by little more than the obligation to pay a tribute; provinces under foreign administration paying a tribute; provinces under foreign occupation not paying a tribute; and one province (Novibazar) occupied by agreement by foreign troops, but administered by Turkish officials.

The area and population of the empire are shown in the following table:—

	Sq. miles.	Population.
EUROPE: —Vilayets of <i>Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonika, Monastir, Janina, and Scutari</i> (under Turkish administration) ..	68,850	4,800,000
The semi-independent Christian principality of <i>Bulgaria</i> , in administrative union with the Autonomous province of <i>Eastern Roumelia</i> (both nominally tributary) ..	87,869	3,000,000
<i>Bosnia and Herzegovina</i> (under Austrian administration) ..	23,570	1,500,000
<i>Novibazar</i> (under Austrian occupation and Turkish administration) ..		
<i>Crete</i> (under a local Assembly, with special privileges) ..		279,000
ASIA: —Twenty-two Vilayets (chiefly Mahomedan) under Turkish administration ..	726,000	16,000,000
The <i>Archipelago</i> (chief administrative town, <i>Chios</i>) ..	2,000	500,000
The Christian tributary Principality of <i>Samos</i> ..	210	56,000
AFRICA: —The Vilayet of <i>Tripoli</i> ..	898,878	1,000,000
The tributary Principality (Khedivate) of <i>Egypt</i> ..	892,000	7,000,000
Total ..	1,645,872	34,185,000

The area of Turkey in Europe, which at the beginning of the century was about 240,000 square miles, has shrunk to a little more than a quarter—or, counting the semi-independent provinces, to a little over one-half.

GOVERNMENT.

The succession to the throne of Turkey is by **The Crown.** male descent, usually to the oldest member of

the dynastic family, whether cousin, uncle, brother, or son of the deceased monarch. The harem takes the place of the monogamous royal marriages in the other monarchical States of Europe, and all children born of the five or six *kadyns*, or even of the *odalisks*, are held legitimate. The income of the Sultan, from taxation or Crown domains, is practically unlimited, but it has been computed at between one and two millions sterling.

Though the Sultan is autocratic, and his will supreme, it is necessary that his edicts shall be in accordance with the precepts of the Koran. Any doubt on the subject of this accordance is decided, when challenged, by reference to the Ulema (clerical and legal dignitaries), to their president the Sheik-ul-Islam, and to the Mufti (interpreters). These functionaries therefore occupy in relation to the executive and legislative authority a position analogous to that of the judiciary in most constitutional countries.

Essays at Constitutionalism. So far as there have been genuine attempts, effectual or ineffectual, to advance towards a system of government based on modern ideas, and especially towards European models, they can scarcely be said to have begun at an earlier date than 1839, when Abdul Medjid came to the throne. In that year a promise (the "Charter of Gulkaneh") was made of sundry reforms, some of which were carried out; and the Sultan undertook to guarantee by his measures that all Ottoman subjects, without distinction of race or creed, should enjoy complete security of life, reputation, and property. "A Council of State was appointed to draw up the new regulations, the army was reorganized by the military law of 1843, provincial councils (*medjilis*) received a certain measure of administrative power by the firman of 1852, the rajahs

were admitted to the army and the civil services (1855).”^{*} In 1856, under the influence of the Western Powers, a Hatti-humayoun was signed and promulgated, confirming the so-called Charter of 1839, and promising “universalequality before the law, respect for property, freedom of worship, equality of taxation, public trials, impartial consideration for witnesses, the abolition of confiscations and torture,” with other details. But the promise was not kept.

One of the first acts of Sultan Abdul Aziz was to organize the vilayets, or departments of the empire, on a better administrative footing. After the massacres of Christians in Syria, and the suppression of the subsequent revolt by a combination of French and Turkish troops, a new form of government was granted to the Lebanon (1864); and three years later a similar concession was made to Crete, in consequence of a Christian revolt in that island. The Lebanon is now governed by a Christian mutessarif; in Crete there is a National Assembly, composed of representatives of the Christian and Mussulman populations.

In 1875, under the influence of Midhat Pasha, the Sultan Abdul Hamid announced his intention to grant a representative Constitution for Turkey, and the text, drawn up by a commission of twenty-eight notables, was promulgated by a hatti-cherif in December, 1876. There was to be a Senate of life-members, and a Chamber of Deputies; and steps were immediately taken to elect this Chamber, which met in Constantinople three months later. The object of

^{*} See further, *Les Constitutions Modernes*. The hatti-humayoun and the hatti-cherif correspond to the ukases of the Czar, the Sultan prefixing to them in his own handwriting, “Be it done as herein contained.” Firmans are ministerial acts under the sanction of the monarch, and thus correspond to “noted ukases.”

the Sultan and his ministers was probably to reassure the Powers, which had been moved to remonstrate with the Porte on its misgovernment in Bulgaria and elsewhere. No sooner was the device proved to be ineffectual than the project was laid aside, and the Turkish Constitution remains a dead letter.

In 1878 the Treaty of Berlin, whilst setting up the Principality of Bulgaria and the autonomous government of Eastern Roumelia, admitting Austria as administrator of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, extending the frontiers of Greece and Montenegro, and assigning Turkish territory in the delta of the Danube to Russia, also contained certain guarantees for the better government of the empire. The Sultan undertook scrupulously to apply in Crete the organic law of 1868. In regard to the remaining provinces of Turkey, the following principles were laid down (Art. 55), and subsequently ratified by the Sultan:—"Analogous laws adapted to local requirements shall be introduced into other parts of Turkey in Europe, for which special provision has not been made by the present Treaty. The Sublime Porte shall appoint special commissions, in which the native element shall be largely represented, to elaborate the details of these new laws for each province. The proposed laws resulting from their labours shall be submitted to the examination of the Sublime Porte, which, before promulgating the acts destined to put them in force, will take the sense of the European Commission appointed for Eastern Roumelia." A renewed pledge was also given of religious freedom throughout the same provinces. The last promise has been fairly observed; the others remain a dead letter.

Side by side with the Treaty of Berlin there was an arrangement between the British and Turkish Governments,

whereby Cyprus (page 169) was placed under British administration, and a conditional protectorate over the Turkish provinces in Asia Minor was undertaken by Great Britain—the double step being regarded as a counterpoise to the Russian acquisitions in Armenia.

The Sultan is assisted by a Council (Medjiess-**Adminis-** i-hass), presided over by the Grand Vizier. **tration.** It includes also the Sheik-ul-Islam and the departmental ministers. There is a Senate of Notables, which meets on rare occasions, and a Council of State, each containing about thirty members.

Ministers are either pashas or effendis. Senators and members of the Council of State may belong also to the third honorary rank of beys. All superior officers are invested with the rank of bey (which is also the title held by sons of pashas.) Subordinate officers, military and civil, are for the most part agas. "The ranks of the civil service are as follows:—(1) Oula, equivalent to the military ferik, or general of division, or to the liva, or general of brigade; (2) Sanie, equivalent to the miralaï, or colonel, or to the kaimakan, or lieutenant-colonel; (3) Salissè, between the emini, or major, and the bimbashi, or commander; (4) Rabéa, equivalent to the yuzbashi, or captain. Above these four ranks come the vizir, bala, and kaziaskeri; and, in the army, the muchir." *

The vilayets, or provinces, are governed by valis, or governor-generals, with the assistance of councils. The vilayets are subdivided into sandjaks, governed by mutes-sarifs; into kazas, administered by kaimakans; and, lastly, into nahiés, administered by mudirs, or mayors.

* See further *Almanac de Gotha*, 1887.

The under-secretaries of the Departments of State are called mustechars. The Sultan's household includes the marshal of the palace, the kizlar agassi, or chief of the eunuchs, who on State occasions takes precedence even of the Grand Vizier ; the dragoman of the Imperial Divan, several chamberlains, financial officers, and others. The imperial aides-de-camp are the most distinguished officers of the Ottoman army.

There is a Supreme Court for Europe, another for Asia, and a third for Constantinople alone, as well as inferior and local courts. Foreigners resident in Turkey are tried in the consular courts ; but if the case is between a Turkish subject and a foreigner the trial is in an Ottoman court, in the presence of a dragoman from the consulate concerned.

Education Though there is no system of national education in the Ottoman empire, schools are established in most towns, as well as a certain number of colleges. These institutions are under the control of the mufti and ulema.

Religion. Mahomedans and Christians are about equally divided in Europe, but the former creed greatly predominates in Asia. The ministers of the State religion are a privileged class, some of them being hereditary. Though the Koran is theoretically supreme, even over the Sultan, the administration of religion, including public worship, is virtually a State Department, and the civil authorities may at their pleasure conduct the rites. The annual pilgrimage to Mecca is still maintained, in spite of the fact that a large number of the pilgrims die every year.

The chief tolerated religions are Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Armenian, Syrian, Maronite, Protestant, and

Jewish. They are governed, with very little interference, by their own organizations.

Few trustworthy figures are to be obtained in reference to Turkish Revenue and Expenditure, Finance. or to the items of taxation. The Revenue during the past few years has been estimated at between £16,000,000 and £17,000,000. The nominal aggregate of the foreign loans contracted in 1854-74 exceeded £223,000,000. After payment of interest had ceased, in 1876, an arrangement was effected with the Powers, in 1881, by which the Public Debt was reduced to £106,487,284.

TURKISH TRIBUTARIES.

Egypt.

Egypt (capital, Cairo) was a Pashalik of the Ottoman Empire until 1841, when, after a successful resistance to the authority of the Sultan, Mehemet Ali was made hereditary ruler of the country, on condition of paying an annual tribute. Several firmans extended the authority thus conceded, and in 1867 and 1873 the Sultan agreed that the Khedive should have the right of entering into conventions with foreign Powers, and to make such regulations or take such measures as he might consider necessary for the administration of the country. On the accession of Tewfik in 1879 the preceding charters were confirmed.

Representative institutions had been set up by Ismail in 1866, but not actually developed, and the government of the country was in the hands of the Khedive and his Council of Ministers. The insurrection headed by Arabi Pasha in 1882 again established a National As-

sembly, which, however, shared the fate of the insurrectionary government. Arabi's movement was an attempt to get rid of the Dual Control of Great Britain and France, which had existed since the deposition of Ismail. For various reasons, not definitely stated, France refused to take part with Great Britain in the suppression of the rising; and, as a consequence, when peace was restored, the Khedive abolished the Dual Control (Jan., 1883), and appointed, in addition to an Egyptian Ministry for Internal Affairs, a British Financial Adviser, with a consultative voice in the Council of Ministers.

Area, including the territory south of Egypt proper, as far as Wady Halfa, about 392,000 square miles; of which 11,000 belong to Upper and Lower Egypt.

Population, about 7,000,000; of whom a quarter of a million are nomadic, and 100,000 are foreigners. The computation does not include the territory south of Egypt proper.

**Organic
Law of
1883.**

In 1883, during the presence in Egypt of Lord Dufferin (then Ambassador at Constantinople) as Special Commissioner, a Constitution was drawn up for the future government of the country, the substance of which is given below.

Of the institutions mentioned, only the Legislative Council has been definitely established.

The Organic Law provided for a Provincial Council in each moudirieh; a Legislative Council; a General Assembly; a Council of State.

The Provincial Council may vote extraordinary supplies for public expenditure within the moudirieh, but their resolutions will not take effect until sanctioned by the Government. The Council must be consulted beforehand

in respect of changes in the boundaries of the moudirieh and its villages; of roads and canals; of the establishment, alteration, or suppression of fairs and markets; of matters in which it may be called upon to give its advice, whether by laws or decrees; and of questions which may be referred to it by the Administration. It may also advise on certain other matters of provincial concern. It may express its wishes on subjects connected with public instruction, and also of agriculture, such as the draining of marshes and the improvement of tillage. A Provincial Council can only assemble when summoned by the moudir, by a decree fixing the date and duration of the session. It must be assembled at least once a year. On the opening day the moudir will read the decree of summons, will administer the oath of fidelity to the Khedive, and of obedience to the laws. It will be presided over by the moudir, and the chief engineer of the province will have a deliberative voice in the discussions. The sittings are not to be public. Further clauses strictly limit the scope of the discussions. Councils may not put themselves in communication with each other. The power of dissolution is committed to the Council of Ministers, and new elections must take place within three months.

The number of members assigned to these Councils is as follows:—Gharbieh, 8; Menoufieh, 6; Dakahlieh, 6; Charkieh, 6; Behera, 5; Gallioubieh, 4; Ghizeh, 4; Beni Souef, 4; Fazoum, 3; Minieh, 4; Assiout, 7; Ghirgheh, 5; Keneh, 4; Esneh, 4. (The first six of these are in Lower Egypt, the other eight in Upper Egypt.) There was to be a property qualification for candidates, and the Council was to be renewable by halves every three years. Elections were to be indirect—primary electors, including

all Egyptians of the age of twenty, to choose one delegate for each division of Cairo and Alexandria, and one for every town or village; and these delegates to elect Councillors by secret cumulative voting.

The Constitution of the Legislative Council is as follows: "No law or decree touching the public administration shall be promulgated without having been submitted for the advice of the Council. If the Government do not concur in their advice, it will signify to the Council the reasons for its decision. The declaration of these reasons cannot give rise to a discussion. The Legislative Council may call upon the Government for the presentation of legislative proposals, or decrees relating to the public administration. Every Egyptian may address a petition to the Khedive. Petitions addressed to the President of the Legislative Council will be either rejected or taken into consideration, after being examined by the Council." The general budget of revenue and expenditure must be communicated to the Legislative Council on or before the 1st of December in each year. The Council may give its advice and state its wishes in regard to every chapter; and if the Minister of Finance cannot act upon these representations he must state his reasons; but no discussion may arise thereon. There must be no discussion, or recommendations in respect of the Tribute, Public Debt, or obligations arising out of the Law of Liquidation or other international Conventions. The budget is to be sanctioned by the Khedive before December 25. The Council meets on the first day of February, April, June, August, October, and November in each year—or at other times by decree of the Khedive. Ministers have a consultative voice, and give explanations as required.

The Legislative Council consists of 30 members, of whom 16 are elected and 14 permanent. The latter, including a President and Vice-President, are nominated by the Khedive, on the recommendation of his Ministers, and are paid. The other members are elected for six years. They receive an indemnity to cover their expenses. One member represents Cairo, one represents the Governments of Alexandria, Damietta, Rosetta, Suez, Port Said, Ismaïlia, and El Arish (which is in Asia); and one is returned by each moudirieh. The Khedive nominates a second Vice-President from the elected members.

The General Assembly was to discuss and vote upon all fresh imposition of taxes, whether direct, on land, or on incomes. Its advice was to be taken in regard to loans, to communication between province and province, and other matters; but the Government was not to be bound by this advice. The Assembly was to be called together at least once in two years. It was to include the Ministers, the Legislative Council, and 46 representative "notables" elected for six years according to the following scheme:—Cairo, 4; Alexandria, 3; Damietta, 1; Rosetta, 1; Suez and Port Said, 1; El Arish and Ismaïlia, 1; Gharbieh, 4 (one representing the town of Tantah); Menoufieh, 3; Dakahlieh, 3 (one representing Mansourah); Charkieh, 3; Behera, 3; Ghizeh, 2; Gallioubieh, 2; Beni Souef, 2; Fazoum, 2; Minieh, 2; Assiout, 3 (one for the town); Ghirgeh, 2; Esneh, 2; Keneh, 2. The electors were to be the same as for the Provincial Councils. Candidates must be thirty years of age, of five years standing as electors, and paying at least 2,000 piastres (about £10 5s.) in property or land tax. The President was to be the President of the Council of Ministers.

Adminis- The Khedive has a civil list of £100,000 ;
tration. Ismail Pasha and his family have an allowance of £215,000. The Council of Ministers numbers five.

The moudirichs are subdivided into kisms, each administered by a mamour. The moudirs formerly dispensed justice ; but in 1884 new codes of law and procedure were established, which brought the judicial administration into the hands of the Minister of Justice and the Procureur-General. The mamours are justices of the peace, and the moudirs hold courts of first instance. These tribunals are of native composition. Under British rule punishment by flogging has been virtually abolished, and the prisons have been inspected and improved.

In 1876, as the result of negotiations between the Ottoman and Egyptian Governments and the various Christian Powers having representatives at Cairo, certain courts were created in Egypt for the trial of mixed causes arising between persons of different foreign nationalities, and suits of foreigners against natives, the Egyptian Government, and members of the Khedival family. These mixed tribunals superseded the consular courts in respect of their civil jurisdiction. A mixed tribunal consists of five judges, three of whom are foreigners and two natives. The foreign judges are appointed by the Khedive on the recommendation of the Great Powers, each of which is represented by from one to three judges. There are several tribunals of first instance and a Court of Appeals at Alexandria.

Finance. The Revenue of Egypt, raised mainly by taxation, approximates to £9,000,000, and the Expenditure is somewhat larger. The charges for the Public Debt stood in 1887 at £4,356,000. The capital of the Debt in July was—Three per Cent. Guaranteed

(issued in 1885), £9,283,300 ; Preference, £22,296,800 ; Unified, £55,990,260 ; to which must be added the Domains Loan and the Daira Loan, £16,389,000—total, nearly £104,000,000.

The Suez Canal, opened in 1869, is the property of a Commercial Company, with a capital of £17,763,945, divided into 896,191 shares. Of these 176,602 were purchased of the Khedive by the British Government for about four millions sterling.

For the international position of the Canal, see p. 201.

Bulgaria.

Bulgaria (capital, Sofia) was established by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 as a Principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan. The principal clauses of the Treaty relating to Bulgaria are as follows :—

“ Bulgaria is established as an autonomous and tributary Principality, under the sovereignty of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. It shall have a Christian Government and a national militia.

“ The Prince of Bulgaria shall be freely elected by the population, and confirmed by the Sublime Porte with the consent of the Powers. No member of the reigning dynasties of the great European Powers may be elected Prince of Bulgaria. If the princely dignity be vacant, the election of the new Prince shall take place under the same conditions and with the same formalities.

“ The following regulations shall constitute the foundation of public rights in Bulgaria : In Bulgaria distinctions of religious beliefs and confessions may not be brought against any man as a reason for exclusion or inability in respect of the enjoyment of civil and political rights,

admission to public employment, functions, and honours, or the exercise of particular professions or industrial callings, in any place whatsoever. The liberty and public exercise of all forms of worship are guaranteed to all subjects of Bulgaria, as well as to foreign residents, and no restraint may be put upon the ecclesiastical organization of the several communions, or upon their relations with their spiritual superiors."

A Constitution was promulgated at Tirnova in 1879, but was soon found to have been too ambitiously conceived for so young a State. A Great Assembly, or *Sobranje*, convoked at Sistova in 1881, agreed to suspend it on the invitation of the Prince, and adopted the following Law:—"Prince Alexander I. of Bulgaria is invested with extraordinary powers for the period of six months. His Highness is therefore empowered to issue decrees creating new institutions, introducing reforms into all branches of the internal administration, and providing for the regular working of the Government. . . . His Highness Prince Alexander has the right, before the expiration of seven years, to convoke a *Sobranje* for the special purpose of considering a revision of the Constitution, on the basis of the institutions which shall have been created, and of the experience which shall have been gained."

On receiving these powers the Prince formally declared that the rights of the people set forth in the Constitution continued to be the basis of public right in Bulgaria. "Every year, and in extraordinary cases, it will be my agreeable duty to summon the representatives of the people in order to discuss questions bearing upon the vital interests of the Principality. Above all, in respect of the budget, taxation, revenue and expenditure, and questions

of an international character, the decisive word will belong to the national representation."

The intention was that a revised Constitution, embodying organic laws passed in the meanwhile, should be promulgated in 1888; but the removal of the Prince eighteen months before the expiration of the septennate prevented the realisation of this programme.

In 1882 an electoral law was passed which was to supersede the arrangements adopted in 1879. According to this scheme there were to be two grades of electors to the ordinary Sobranje. Those of the first degree included all persons holding public office, graduates, ecclesiastics, owners of real estate and their children, and persons practising an independent calling, such as merchants, farmers, manufacturers, and employers of labour. Every fifty electors of the first degree were to nominate one of the second degree; and the men so nominated were to elect the deputies by *scrutin de liste* in the thirteen departments. The normal period of election is six years. Other laws were subsequently passed, to determine the method of municipal elections, to establish the judiciary organization, and to provide for the institution of a Second Chamber. Some of these measures are already in operation; but the frequent disturbance of the country has made it impossible to change the electoral machinery, and in the meantime the Great Sobranje, or National Assembly on the wider franchise, has had the direction of affairs in its own hands.

The Province of *Eastern Roumelia*, which **Eastern** received its autonomy in 1878, united itself **Roumelia.** with the Principality of Bulgaria in September, 1885. Six months later the Sultan agreed to the union, and the

two countries are now administered in common. Though nominally tributary to Turkey, Bulgaria paid no tribute, either on its own original liability or on behalf of Eastern Roumelia, until the end of 1887, when it arranged to pay £140,000 a year as the Roumelian contribution.

The combined Public Debt is about £2,000,000—of which £400,000 is the Roumelian share. This sum does not include the liability to Turkey.

In the island of *Samos*, which has been Greek, Roman, Venetian, and Turkish, there is a limited Constitution which dates from the year 1832, when, as an after-effect of the establishment of the Greek kingdom, the old provincial form of government was converted into that of a tributary principality, under an arrangement between the Sultan Mahmud and the three Guaranteeing Powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia. The Prince is a vizier and mushir of the Ottoman Empire, and rules by virtue of the nomination of the Sultan—though the present ruler, a Greek, is the son-in-law of his predecessor. He is assisted by a Senate or Council of four (Greeks), who represent the four administrative districts of the island. The population is about 42,000; but another 14,000 Samiotes are settled on the adjacent coast of Asia Minor.

For *Bosnia*, *Herzegovina*, and *Novibazar*, see under AUSTRIA. For *Cyprus*, see GREAT BRITAIN. For the *Lebanon* and *Crete*, see page 583.

1887. The questions in which Turkey has been interested during the past year are for the most part referred to in the sections dealing with the other

countries respectively involved. The anomalous position of the Porte, so far as Europe is concerned, prevents it from initiating questions likely to have an important bearing on international relations, though its interests, and even its continued existence in Europe, are frequently at stake in the questions raised by other countries. Turkey has complained that the Great Powers show little or no consideration for her interests; their attacks or their treaties deprive her of her territories, but they take no trouble to insure the payment of tributes by States whom they have left under her suzerainty. The latter complaint has some foundation as regards the Balkan tributary States, and the reason is that these States are not sufficiently under the influence of any single Government to make it worth its while to guarantee the tribute. It is not true with regard to Egypt and Cyprus, for which Great Britain has made herself directly responsible. There are, of course, other explanations of the grievances put forward by Turkey; but it does not belong to our present purpose to consider them.

In July, 1887, the Ottoman special commissioner in Crete conceded on behalf of his Government the following claims of the Cretans—that one-half of the customs revenue should be retained for the local service of the island; that deficits in the revenue should be made good out of the surplus in favourable years; and that the resolutions of the Assembly should be sanctioned by the Sultan within three months.

The Bulgarian question has assumed both gravity and prominence for the whole of Europe **Bulgaria.**—more on account of the *arrière pensées* of the Powers than because of the intrinsic importance of the question

itself. It matters very little to Europe who sits on the throne of Bulgaria, or whether Eastern Roumelia is permanently united with that country or not. But the conflict of Russian and Austrian ambitions in the Balkans has become very acute, and the grouping of the other military Powers round these two, if it were an accomplished fact, would make the general peace depend upon the unstable condition of affairs in Bulgaria. The instability of Bulgaria is due to the unwillingness of Russia to lose her influence at Sofia, which was one of the natural results of the last war with Turkey. The "influence" gained by any Power over a smaller State which it has benefited by force of arms, or otherwise, may be regarded as a legitimate political factor. Russia has used such influence as one of her counters in the game which she has played in south-eastern Europe. Her influence over Roumania and Servia, acquired in 1829, was expressly brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, after she had been defeated in the field; and she may consider that nothing short of superior force ought to be allowed to destroy her predominance in Bulgaria, which she gained by great sacrifice of blood and money in 1877-8. At any rate, her policy during the year has been the sole or principal obstacle to the settlement of the Bulgarian question.

More than eleven months passed between the departure of Prince Alexander and the arrival of Prince Ferdinand. In the interval the country was governed by a Regency, a Ministerial Council, and the Sobranje. The authority of the Regents was only partially recognised by the Powers, and a deputation which visited the central and western capitals, to bespeak the good offices of the Governments, was received unofficially. Two general elections were held, one to

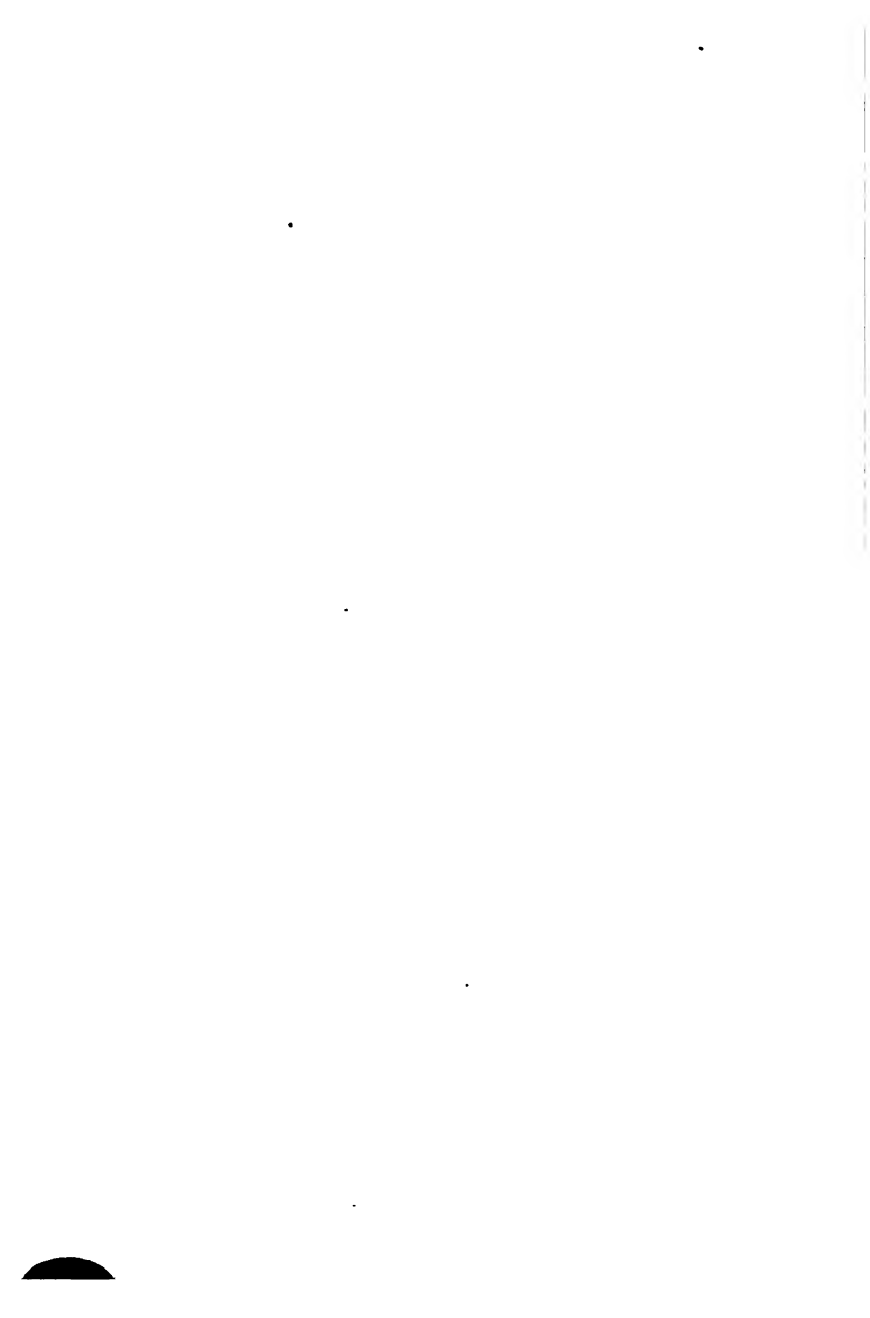
establish the Regency, another to confirm the election of Prince Ferdinand, and on both occasions an overwhelming majority supported the acts of the provisional Government. Russia, on her side, denied the legality of the elections, and refused to treat with the Regents; but the measures which she has taken to recover her influence in Bulgaria have hitherto failed. The withdrawal of her diplomatic and consular representatives, the mission of General Kaulbars, the aid given to Russian and Bulgarian intriguers, and the pressure brought to bear upon the Porte, seem to have strengthened rather than weakened the authorities at Sofia, who, taking advantage of the deadlock which Europe had manifestly reached, have acted throughout the crisis with considerable firmness.

Turkey, who has frequent opportunities of taking up an extremely logical position, without possessing the moral strength necessary to give effect to logical argument, called upon the Powers, in the month of May, to bring the anomalous situation in Bulgaria to an end, and to secure the due observance of the Berlin Treaty. After the entry of Prince Ferdinand, in August, the Porte despatched another Note, similar in its character, and inviting the opinions of the Powers. Austria, Great Britain, and Italy returned on this occasion a practically identical reply. So far as the election of the new Prince was concerned, they held it to be legal, but inasmuch as the Berlin Treaty requires that the ruler of Bulgaria shall be not only "freely elected by the population" but also "confirmed by the Sublime Porte, with the consent of the Powers," they considered his entry into Bulgaria illegal. At the same time it was necessary to keep in view the expressed desires of the Bulgarian nation, and the danger to the country of leaving

it without a settled Government. Germany and France held even the election to be invalid, owing to the participation of the Roumelian voters, and they recommended the Porte to maintain a common understanding with Russia.

At the end of the year the Bulgarian question remains open for the European Powers, and seems no less than ever fraught with danger to the public peace.

MISCELLANEOUS.



MISCELLANEOUS.

VAST regions of the earth's surface, chiefly but not exclusively in Africa, remain either without government or dominated only by the terror of a great military chief or fanatical leader. The principal minor governments—including such as have defined boundaries merely by virtue of the neighbourhood of organized States—are mentioned below.

ASIA.

North of Persia and Afghanistan, Russia claims the whole of Asia as far as the Chinese frontier. A considerable part of Siberia is as well organized as Russia's European provinces. The south-western region, which sometimes goes by the vague name of *Western Turkestan*, includes the more recent conquests of Russia—the Trans-Caspian districts, with Merv and the Murghab and Oxus valleys, Amu Daria, Khiva, and Bokhara. Suzerainty, not sovereignty, is the accepted description of Russia's authority over some of these countries; but, so far as external nations are concerned, they may be regarded as being practically Russian territory. As such, they are more or less in process of organization—the process being

for the present military rather than civil, although the civil development is aided and accelerated by improved means of communication and extended commerce. Russia has abolished slavery, and the presence of her commanders and administrators is a guarantee against the disorders, insecurity of life and property, and general instability of the conditions of society, to which Central Asia was formerly subject.

Afghanistan and *Baluchistan*—the former ruled by the Ameer of Cabul, the latter by the Khan of Khelat—are under British influence. British troops have been stationed in both countries, and the Ameer receives an annual subsidy of £120,000, and the Khan £10,000, from the British (Indian) Government. Taxation and military service are the chief indications of government for the inhabitants of both countries. The area of Afghanistan is about 279,000 square miles ; population four millions. The area of Baluchistan is about 106,000 square miles ; population, half-a-million. There are treaties with both potentates, excluding the influence of other foreign States.

Arabia has never been under a single and direct sway. The western (Red Sea) littoral is occupied by the Turkish vilayets of Hedjaz and Yemen, and on the Persian side is the vilayet of Bagdad, with the Gulf littoral of El Hasa. The Sinai Peninsula, and the Midian coast of the Red Sea down to a point opposite to Kosseir, are under the dominion of Egypt. The Oman, under the Sultan of Muscat, is independent ; and so also are several unimportant communities on the south coast, and Jebel Shammar and Nejd in the centre.

There are sundry peoples virtually independent on the borders of China and Siam, and in the southern Malay

Peninsula, though for the most part they acknowledge the suzerainty of the monarchs of China and Siam.

In Borneo, the Rajah of *Sarawak* holds independent sway over the north-west coast, on the China Sea. Without any important development of free institutions, this country has enjoyed a fairly peaceful government since its settlement in 1841 by Rajah Brooke.

AFRICA.

Almost the whole coast of Africa is now occupied, either by European Powers or by sundry independent governments. The independent nations are Morocco, Liberia, and Zanzibar, whilst on the east coast are the less organized tribes of Umzilas, Mozambique, and the Somalis. Of the many geographical units in the inland regions of Africa, some, like Ashanti and Dahomey, have been made known to us chiefly by the attacks of their inhabitants on the settlers of the coast; others, like the clusters of States on the Niger, and round Lake Tchad (Sokotu, Bornu, Bagirmi, Wadai), with Darfur and Kordofan (latitude 10° to 15° N.); and the equatorial States between Congo and Zanzibar, are being made familiar by the narratives of travellers. In none of them do we find much organization of government, beyond what has been based on military chieftainship and a kind of patriarchal subordination. Sokotu has a trading convention with the Royal Niger Company.

Abyssinia (area, 129,000 square miles; population, about 3,000,000), after the anarchy produced by the misrule of King Theodore, has been welded again into a military dominion of considerable power. It is the only African State in which Christianity had gained a footing before the European settlements were effected.

The small island of *Zanzibar*, off the east central coast of Africa, between 6° and 7° south latitude, is governed by a Sultan, whose authority, vaguely defined, extends along the coast for 900 or 1,000 miles, from Warsheikh to Delgado Bay. The elder brother of the Sultan is Sultan of Muscat (in east Arabia)—from which country the conqueror of Zanzibar came in the eighteenth century. The State of Zanzibar has little importance beyond its moderate commerce. The sway of the Sultan over the African coast (10 miles inland) is maintained by detached garrisons; but the country is likely to fall under the influence of Germany, which, by agreement with Great Britain and France, controls the future of a large tract of territory between the river Rovuma and Mt. Kilimanjaro, 500 miles in length, and extending inland towards the Congo Free State. British control extends northwards to the river Tana, 200 miles, and inwards to Lake Victoria Nyanza. Under Germany is the Sultan of Vitu. The Amatongas, south of Delagoa Bay, have recently entered into a convention with the British; and Swaziland, to the west of Maputaland, with difficulty preserves its independence against the Boers.

APPENDIX.

COUNTRIES.	Titular Government.	Date of Constitution.	Executive.
ARGENTINE	Federal Republic	1853-60	President for 6 years and Ministers ²
AUSTRIA *	Limited (Federal) Empire	1860-82	Emperor and Ministers
BELGIUM	Limited Kingdom	1831	King and Ministers
BOLIVIA	Republic	1826-80	President for 4 years and Ministers
BRAZIL	Federal Empire	1824-34	Ministers, with Emperor as Moderator
BULGARIA	Tributary Principality (to Turkey)	1879 (suspended 1881)	Prince and Ministers
CANADA **	British Federal Dependency	1867-86 (N. Brunswick, 1785)	Secretary of State, Governor-General, and Ministers
CAPE COLONY	British Dependency	1872...	Secretary of State, Governor, and Ministers
CEYLON	British Crown Dependency	1831-3	Governor, Exec. Council (Officials) *
CHILI	Federal Republic	1833-74	President and Ministers
CHINA	Absolute Empire	—	Emperor and Nei-ko
COLOMBIA	Federal Republic ("United States")	1863-86	President for 2 years and Ministers
COSTA RICA	Republic	1859-82	President for 4 years and Ministers

Legislative.	Popular Franchise. ¹	Salary of Members.	Legislative Term.
Senate—30 C. Deputies—86	Universal	£1,000 a year	3 × 3 years ³ — 2 × 2 years
Herrenhaus—105 Abgeordneten—353	Part Female Taxpayers, £2	[Deputies from the Ausschuss of Lower A. are paid]	Part hereditary Part nominated 6 years
Senators, half as many as Repres. C. Repres.—1 for 40,000	Taxpayers, £1 13s. 6d.	Senators not paid — £4 4s. a week	2 × 4 ⁴ — 2 × 2
Senate C. Deputies	Universal		
Senate—60 C. Deputies—125	£40 a year Income	£900 a year — £600 a year and trav. exp.	Life — 4 years
Great Sobranje (1 for 10,000) Ordinary Sobranje	Universal Indirect		Occasional 6 years
Nominated Senate—78 H. Commons—207 (1 for 17,000)	Property £30, or Income £60	£2 a day and trav. exp.	Life — 5 years
Council—22 Assembly—74	Property, or Income, £50		7 years — 5 years
Nominated Council— 15 (6 representative members)	—	—	—
Senate—40 C. Deputies—115	Property or Income—Various		6 years — 3 years
Han-lin	—	—	—
Senate—27 C. Deputies—66	Universal		
No Senate C. Deputies—21	"Respectable" Citizens		2 × 2

COUNTRIES.	Titular Government.	Date of Constitution.	Executive.
DENMARK †	Limited Kingdom	1849-66	King and Ministers
ECUADOR	Republic	1830-83	President for 4 years and Ministers
EGYPT	Turkish Dependency	Provisional Law 1883	Khedive and Ministers (British control)
FRANCE	Republic	Developed. Also 1871-85	President for 7 years and Ministers
GERMANY ††	Federal Empire	1871	Emperor and Ministers
GREAT BRITAIN §	Limited Kingdom (and Empire)	Developed	Queen, Ministers, Privy Council
GREECE	Limited Kingdom	1864-86	King and Ministers
GUATEMALA	Republic	1859-79	President for 6 years and Ministers
HAYTI	Republic	1867-86	President for 7 years and Ministers
HAWAII	Limited Kingdom	1839-87	King and Ministers
HONDURAS	Republic	1825-80	President for 4 years and Ministers
HUNGARY §§	Limited Kingdom (to Austria)	Developed. Also 1848-85	King and Ministers
INDIA	British Dependency		Secretary of State and Governor-General

Legislative.	Popular Franchise. ¹	Salary of Members.	Legislative Term.
Landsting—66 Folkething—102 (1 for 16,000)	Indirect Universal	ab. 6s. 10d. a day, and trav. exp.	12 Life, 54 for 2 × 4 yrs. — 3 years
Senate—16 C. Representatives—584 (1 for 30,000)	Adult Electors who can read and write— R. Catholic		2 × 2 years — 2 years
Council—30 (16 elected)	Provincial Councils and Towns delegate the Members	Expenses paid	6 years
Senate—300 C. Deputies—584 (1 for 70,000)	Indirect. Citizens (2 yrs. residence)	£600 £360	3 × 3 years — 4 years
Bundesrath—62 Reichstag—397	Delegated by States. Universal	Travelling expenses	Sessional — 3 years
House of Lords House of Commons —670	Ratepayers and lodgers (1 year's residence)	Unpaid	Hereditary and Life — 7 years
No Senate C. of Deputies—150	Manhood	£80 (nominal) Extra Sessions, £60	4 years
Nat. Assembly—70	Universal		2 × 2 years
Senate—30 House of Commons —(sitting together)	Nom. by H. of C. Citizens earning an Income		3 × 2 years — 3 years
Legislative Assembly —28, of two orders	Must read and write		2 years
Assembly—37	Taxpayers		
H. of Magnates H. Representatives —453	Citizens paying small Land or Income Tax	Members of the Croatian Diet are paid 12s. a day	Hereditary, Clergy, and Life — 5 years
India Council—15 Council of Gov.-Gen.	—	—	10 years

COUNTRIES.	Titular Government.	Date of Constitution.	Executive.
ITALY	Limited Kingdom	1848 (Sardinia) 1860-82	King and Ministers
JAPAN	Monarchy	1890 (?)	In
MEXICO	Federal Republic	1857-82	President for 4 years and Ministers
MONTENEGRO	Principality	1855-78	Prince, Ministers, and Council of State
MOROCCO	Absolute Monarchy	None	Sultan and Ministers
NATAL	British Crown Colony	1856-83	Governor and Executive Council (officials)
NETHERLANDS ¶	Limited Kingdom	1848-87	King and Ministers
NEW SOUTH WALES	British Colony (Responsible)	1855-80	Secretary of State, Governor, and Ministers
NEW ZEALAND	British Colony (Responsible)	1852-75	Secretary of State, Governor, and Ministers
NICARAGUA	Republic	1858	President for 4 years and Ministers
NORWAY	Limited Kingdom (to Sweden)	1814-84	King, Ministers, and Council of State
ORANGE FREE STATE	Republic	1854-79	President for 5 years and Ex. Council
PARAGUAY	Republic	1844-70	President for 4 years and Ministers

Legislative.	Popular Franchise. ¹	Salary of Members.	Legislative Term.
Nominated Senate C. Deputies—508 (1 for 57,000)	Taxpayers who can read and write, and professional	(Forbidden in Constitution)	Life — 5 years
Transition			
Senate—56 C. Deputies (1 for 40,000)	" Respectable " Citizens	£600	2 years — 2 years
Council of State (4 nom., 4 elected)	Citizens bearing Arms		
Sultan and Ministers	None	—	—
Legislative Council (7 nom., 23 elected)	Property, £50, or Income, £96 (3 yrs. residence)		4 years
First Chamber—50 Second Chamber—100	See legislation of 1888	£200, and about 7d. an hour trav. exp.	9 years — 4 years
Nom. Council—59 Assembly—122	Property, £100, or £10 Occupation (6 mos. residence)		Life — 3 years
Nom. Council—54 H. Representatives —95	Property, £25, Maori franchise (6 mos. residence)	£100, and expenses	Life — 3 years
Senate—10 H. Representatives —11	Universal		6 years — 4 years
Lagthing—28 Odelsting—86	Elected by Storthing—which is indirectly elected	13s. 4d. a day and trav. exp.	3 years
No Senate Volksraad—56	Land, £150 Rental, £30 Income, £200 (3 yrs. residence)	£1 a day	2 × 2 years
Senate—half as many as deputies H. Deputies (1 for 6,000)	All Males of 18 without residential qualification	£100 a year	4 years

COUNTRIES.	Titular Government.	Date of Constitution.	Executive.
PERSIA	Absolute Monarchy	None	Shah and Ministers
PERU	Republic	1856	President for 4 years and Ministers
PORTUGAL	Limited Kingdom	1826-85	King (Moderator), Ministers, and Privy Council
PRUSSIA	Limited Kingdom (to Germany)	1815-73	King and Ministers
QUEENSLAND	British Colony (Responsible)	1859-85	Secretary of State, Governor, and Ministers
ROUMANIA	Limited Kingdom	1866-84	King and Ministers
RUSSIA*†	Absolute Empire	None	Czar and Ministers
SALVADOR	Republic	1864-86	President for 4 years and Ministers
SERVIA	Limited Kingdom	1869	King and Ministers
SIAM	Absolute Monarchy	—	Two Kings
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	British Colony (Responsible)	1856-81	Secretary of State, Governor, and Ministers
SPAIN	Limited Kingdom	1812-75	King and Ministers
SWEDEN	Limited (Federal) Kingdom	Developed. Also 1809-66	King, Ministers, and Council of State

Legislative.	Popular Franchise. ¹	Salary of Members.	Legislative Term.
Based on Koran	None	—	—
Senate—40 H. Deputies (1 for 20,000)	Indirect election		
Chamber of Peers C. Deputies—149	Income, £22, or Heads of families Must read and write	10s. a day	Elective, nomi- nated, hereditary — 4 years
Herrenhaus Abgeordneten—432 (1 for 66,000)	Indirect, by Municipal Voters	£1 a day	Hereditary, life, and professional — 3 years
Nom. Council—36 Assembly—72	Universal (6 mos. residence)	£2 2s. a day, to £200 (Assembly)	Life — 5 years
Senate—120 C. Deputies—178	Indirect	Expenses paid	8 years 4 years
Senate and Synod	[Communal franchise]	—	—
Senate—12 H. Representatives (1 for 15,000)	Universal		2 years
Nom. Senate—15 Skupschtina—160 (120 elected)	Taxpayers	Expenses paid	Life — 3 years
and a Deliberative Senate			
Council—24 Assembly—52	Universal (6 mos. registered)	£200, both Chambers	3 × 3 years — 3 years
Senate—360 Congress—431 (1 for 50,000)	£1 Land tax, £2 Industrial. Also class franchises		Hereditary, and Elected 2 × 5 years — 5 years
Upper Chamber—142 (1 for 30,000)	Elected by Provinces	Not paid	9 years
Lower Chamber—214	Property, £56 Income, £45	£67 10s., and trav. exp.	3 years

COUNTRIES.	Titular Government.	Date of Constitution.	Executive.
SWITZERLAND	Federal Republic	Developed. Also 1848-74	(Administrative) Federal Council of 7 nom. by Assembly
TASMANIA	British Colony (Responsible)	1856	Secretary of State, Governor, and Ministers
TRANSVAAL	("South African") Republic	1849-84	President for 5 years Council of 4
TURKEY *§	Absolute Empire	1856 (suspended)	Sultan and Ministers
UNITED STATES	Federal Republic	1787-1870	President for 4 years and Ministers
URUGUAY	Republic	1830-84	President for 4 years and Ministers
VENEZUELA	Federal Republic ("United States")	1830-81	President for 2 years, Ministers, and Council of 16
VICTORIA	British Colony (Responsible)	1854-81	Secretary of State, Governor, and Ministers
WESTERN AUSTRALIA	British Colony (Representative)	1834	Secretary of State, Governor, and Council

* For the Provincial Constitutions of Austria, see under AUSTRIA.

** For Canadian Provincial Governments, and Newfoundland, see under BRITISH COLONIES.

† For Iceland, see under DENMARK.

†† For the German States, see under GERMANY.

§ For the Channel Isles, Man, and minor Dependencies, see under GREAT BRITAIN.

§§ For Croatia-Slavonia, see under HUNGARY.

¶ For Luxemburg, see under NETHERLANDS.

†† For Finland, see under RUSSIA.

*§ For the Governments of Crete, Samos, &c. see under TURKEY.

Legislative.	Popular Franchise. ¹	Salary of Members.	Legislative Term.
States Council—44 National Council (1 for 20,000)	Cantons elect — All citizens of 20 years	Members of the 3 Councils are paid (also in States)	3 years
Council—18 Assembly—86	Owners, Occu- piers, £80 Income (6 mos. residence)		6 years — 5 years
No Senate Volksraad—44	Payment of £25 (5 yrs. residence)		2 × 2 years
Based on Koran	None	—	—
Senate—76 H. Representatives— 325 (1 for 154,000)	State Legislatures — Electors of States (mostly universal)	£1,000 and trav. exp.	3 × 2 years — 2 × 2 years
Senate—18 H. Representatives (1 for 8,000 voters)	All citizens who can read and write		3 × 2 years — 3 years
Senate—27 H. Representatives (1 for 35,000)	State Legislatures — Universal		4 years
Council—42 Assembly—86	Universal	£300	3 × 2 years — 3 years
Council—24 (16 elected)	Freehold, £100 Rental, £10		

¹ The franchise given is the lowest, i.e., in most cases, for the more popular Chamber only.

² When Ministers are mentioned, they are responsible to the Chambers (except in Morocco Persia, Russia, Turkey).

³ Renewable by thirds every three years, the elections being for nine years.

⁴ Renewable by halves every four years—elections for eight years.

(AS FIXED BY THE SEVERAL CONSTITUTIONS).

ARGENTINE ..	5 months from May 1.
AUSTRIA	"As far as possible during the winter months."
BELGIUM ..	40 days from the second Thursday in November.
BRAZIL	4 months from May 3.
DENMARK ..	2 months from the first Monday in October.
ECUADOR.. ..	June 10.
FRANCE	5 months (with intervals) from the second Thursday in Jan.
GREECE	3 to 6 months from November 1.
GUATEMALA ..	2 months from March 1.
HUNGARY ..	"As far as possible during the winter months.'
MEXICO	May 1-31; and 3 months from September 15.
NETHERLANDS	20 days at least from the third Monday in September.
NORWAY	2 months at least from February 1.
ORANGE	First Monday in May.
PORTUGAL ..	3 months from January 2.
PRUSSIA	Opens between November 1 and January 15.
ROUMANIA ..	3 months from November 15.
SWEDEN	4 months from January 15.
UNITED STATES	First Monday in December.

The rule laid down in the Austrian Constitution—"as far as possible during the winter months"—applies to the majority of countries in which no other period is formally assigned by the Constitution. In these cases the sessions usually open in November. The ordinary term in Great Britain is six months from the first or second week in February.

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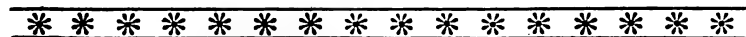


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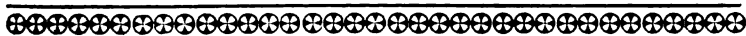
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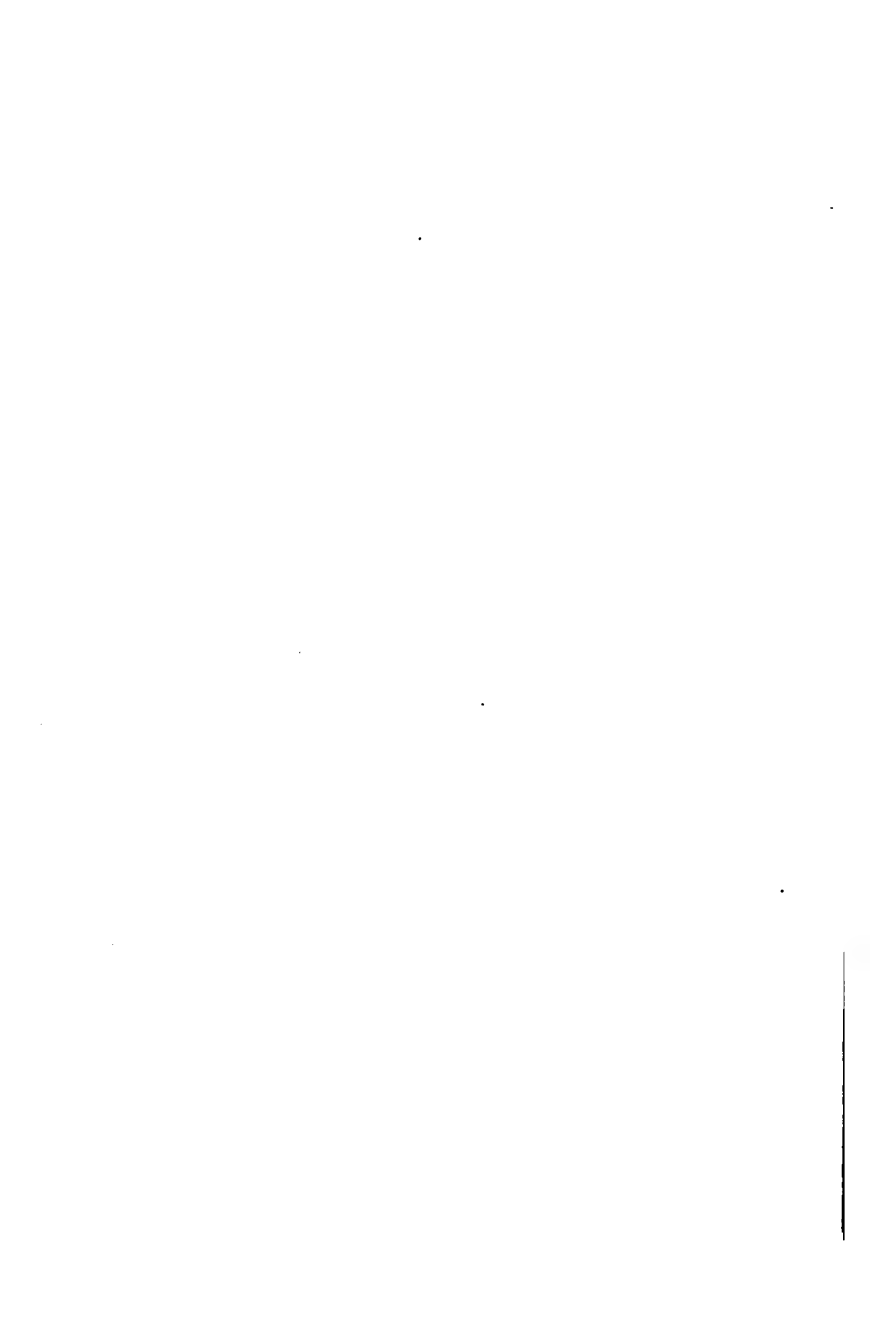
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